

CORPUS VITREARUM UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ENGLISH AND FRENCH MEDIEVAL
STAINED GLASS

IN THE COLLECTION OF
THE METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM OF ART



HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS ~ THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

ENGLAND & FRANCE

Locations referred to
in this catalogue





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CATALOGUES TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE SERIES
CORPUS VITREARUM – USA

- I European Stained Glass in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- II Stained Glass from before 1700 in New York State (excluding the Metropolitan Museum)
- III Stained Glass from before 1700 in Connecticut and Rhode Island
- IV Stained Glass from before 1700 in Massachusetts
- V Stained Glass from before 1700 in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania
- VI Stained Glass from before 1700 in New Jersey and Pennsylvania (excluding the Glencairn Museum)
- VII Stained Glass from before 1700 in the Atlantic Seaboard States from Delaware to Florida
- VIII Stained Glass from before 1700 in the Midwest States
- IX Stained Glass from before 1700 in the Central States
- X Stained Glass from before 1700 in California



CORPUS VITREARUM
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PART I

ENGLISH AND FRENCH
MEDIIEVAL STAINED GLASS
IN THE COLLECTION
OF THE METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM OF ART

Jane Hayward
REVISED AND EDITED BY
Mary B. Shepard and Cynthia Clark

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
Mary B. Shepard

VOLUME ONE

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and THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
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Foreword

WRITING IN A Metropolitan Museum Bulletin in the early 1970s, Jane Hayward proclaimed with inimitable directness: “The stained-glass window is one of the most spectacular art forms ever invented.” At a time when the modern study of medieval stained glass was still in its early phases of development, Jane declared not only the integral role of stained glass in our understanding of Western medieval art, but that The Metropolitan Museum of Art was to be a major contributor to its study.

The 1972 special exhibition ‘Stained Glass Windows of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance’ brought to light the depth and richness of the Museum’s collection of stained glass assembled in the early years of the twentieth century by curators and donors such as William Valentiner, Joseph Breck, Bashford Dean, James Rorimer, George D. Pratt, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Over the next thirty years, Hayward and her colleagues built upon this remarkable foundation to amass a world-class collection with near-encyclopedic holdings. Through their efforts, the claim made in 1972 that “masterpieces of the early thirteenth century [are] practically nonexistent outside France” was redressed; panels from the cathedrals of Soissons and Rouen now on view at The Cloisters testify to this brilliant period of stained-glass manufacture. Similarly, the ornamental splendor of grisaille and border interlace take their due place alongside commanding panels of figural and legendary glass from throughout Europe, including Austria, England, France, Germany, the Lowlands, and Switzerland.

The publication of Jane Hayward’s *Corpus Vitrearum* volume of English and French medieval stained glass in The Metropolitan Museum of Art both celebrates this extraordinary collection and marks the capstone of Hayward’s remarkable career. From the intricate preciousness of twelfth-century border ornament from the Royal Abbey Church of Saint-Denis to the snarling wolfhounds adorning the heraldic badge of the Fiennes family at Herstmonceux Castle (Sussex) and the touching *Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin* from the late-fifteenth-century church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste at Elbeuf, the Museum’s collection of English and French medieval stained glass is discussed here in an unprecedented work of scholarship. We are fortunate in the tenacious support of this project by William D. Wixom, Curator Emeritus; Peter Barnet, Curator-in-Charge of the Medieval Department and The Cloisters; and Timothy B. Husband, Curator, Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, whose own *Corpus Vitrearum* publication of Germanic and Netherlandish medieval stained glass – currently in preparation – will form a companion volume. Our sincere thanks go to Mary B. Shepard, former Museum Educator at The Cloisters, and editor Cynthia Clark, who tirelessly worked together to bring Hayward’s manuscript into publishable form. We are especially grateful to the Samuel I. Newhouse Foundation, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Drue E. Heinz Fund, and The Evelyn Sharp Foundation, whose generous support has made this important publication possible.

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Preface

IT TOOK A DREAMER to imagine, when Jane Hayward was invited to join the international Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi in 1958, that even a scholar as driven and determined as she could single-handedly catalogue and publish all of the medieval stained glass in public and private collections across the continental expanse of the United States. Yet that was indeed the plan Sumner Crosby had in mind when he asked Jane to serve as 'author' for the American Corpus Committee. Crosby had not only been Jane's dissertation advisor at Yale University, he was also President and, until Jane's introduction, sole member of the American Corpus from its origin in 1953, when the international organization was founded as a collection of independent national committees with the goal of cataloguing and publishing in a uniform format all medieval stained glass throughout the world.

During exhaustive and exhausting trips across the United States through the 1960s, Jane filled several file cabinets with notes and photographs, preparing to write on her own a large single volume or a discrete multi-volume set. By the 1970s, realizing that it would take a team to make her Corpus dream a reality, Jane expanded the American Corpus Committee to include a new generation of stained-glass scholars, among them Madeline Caviness, Timothy Husband, Meredith Lillich, and Virginia Raguin. She also sought to increase their ranks through her own teaching, supervising the dissertations of a new cohort of students at Columbia and New York University, including Gloria Gilmore-House, Linda Papanicolaou, Mary Shepard, and myself. Jane's vision of an American Corpus volume blossomed into an American Corpus project. She headed a community of scholars, intent on establishing stained glass as a major medium of medieval art. It is no wonder that Jane's beloved French colleague Catherine Brisac referred to her as the Queen Mother of Stained Glass.

With the American Corpus endeavor underway, Jane could focus her attention on the glass that was closest to her professional heart: the collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. While she sat at her desk, composing entries in longhand on her signature yellow legal pads, Jane peppered her colleagues with phone calls at odd hours of the day and night, whenever she had an insistent question concerning a panel that related in some way to our own research. I hope that this publication will occasionally capture, for readers who did not have the privilege of knowing her, the commanding personality, passion, and enthusiasm that permeated those conversations. Jane loved stained glass, and she loved the labor of cataloguing it for the Corpus Vitrearum. We are so very fortunate to be the beneficiaries of this labor of her love.

MICHAEL W. COTHREN
Professor of Art History, Swarthmore College
President, Corpus Vitrearum USA

Editors' Preface

A FEW DAYS before her death on All Soul's Day 1994, Jane Hayward reeled off a list of bibliographic references she intended to consult after her release from the hospital. It was totally in character. Possessed of steely determination, Jane was a relentless advocate for stained glass, and, in her last years, writing the *Corpus Vitrearum* catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum's collection of medieval stained glass was her sole focus. Jane was a galvanizing force in the American Committee of the *Corpus Vitrearum* – indeed she was its founder and first member – and this catalogue is truly representative of her life's work. Selected by Sumner McNight Crosby (1909–1982), her dissertation advisor at Yale University, to spearhead the efforts in the United States for the international cataloguing of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi* project, Jane was sent to France to be trained by the pioneering French scholars of modern stained glass studies, Louis Grodecki (1910–1982) and Jean Lafond (1888–1975). She maintained an active correspondence with both throughout the years, and many of the conclusions published here took root in dialogue with these venerable mentors. No less important was her deep friendship with Robert Branner (1927–1973), whose conception of a 'Court Style' in thirteenth-century France informed Jane's own ideas of stylistic development and workshop practice. Indeed, a defining aspect of her work was a profound empathy with the artist as creator and technician. Throughout this catalogue, Jane's observations – particularly regarding workshop hierarchy and levels of ability – reveal her own studio training at the University of Pennsylvania as a painter and designer as well as dedicated service as a technical draftswoman during World War II. [For more on Jane Hayward, see *Gesta* 1998 and the essay by Marilyn Stokstad, "Jane Hayward (1918–1994): 'Radiance and Reflection,'" in *Chance* 2003.]

Even before her arrival at the Museum in 1967, as a Clawson Mills Fellow who would eventually rise to the rank of curator, Jane began to assemble the foundations of the Metropolitan's *Corpus Vitrearum* catalogue, an endeavor that continued until her death. Although departmental files overflow with notes she made on the collection throughout her distinguished career, the formal work on the *Corpus Vitrearum* volume itself did not begin until 1982, following 'Radiance and Reflection,' the ground-breaking exhibition of the Raymond Pitcairn collection of medieval art that was held at The Cloisters in 1981.

Jane was ill for nearly the entire twelve years that she labored on the catalogue, initially with a series of strokes and ultimately with cancer. Despite such formidable obstacles, she was indefatigable in finishing her manuscript. By the time she died, Jane had completed work on the medieval stained glass in the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, as well as a singular composition from the Department of Arms and Armor. William D. Wixom, then Michel David-Weill Chairman of the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters, together with Jane's colleagues at The Cloisters, Mary B. Shepard and Timothy B. Husband, decided to edit Jane's massive manuscript in two separate sections. The first, published here, includes English and French medieval glass; the second will encompass glass from Austria, Germany, the Lowlands, and Switzerland. (The majority of the Museum's silver-stained and unipartite panels were published by Husband in *CV US, Checklist IV*.) A projected third volume will cover European glass dating from 1500–1700 in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts.

MARY B. SHEPARD & CYNTHIA CLARK

Acknowledgments

A WEALTH OF COLLEAGUES have generously given their time and knowledge in order to publish Jane Hayward's volume for the *Corpus Vitrearum*. During her work on the Museum's *Corpus* volume, Jane was assisted by a cadre of devoted research assistants, including Denise Duncan, Karen Randall, Carole DeCosse, Jane Ashby, Felicity Ratté, Jennifer Eskin, Ena Girescu Heller, Michele Siano, and Anne-Marie Bouché. Elizabeth Gittings and Laura Good Morelli provided critical support from the New England office of the *Corpus Vitrearum*. Marie-Pascale Foucault-Phipps was Jane's collaborator in charting the Museum's collection, and she was responsible for making the majority of the restoration charts. For the last several years of Jane's work on the project, Marilyn Beaven assisted in editing and updating the texts. Marilyn's painstaking work on assembling information on the market for stained glass in the United States deserves special credit, as it informed many of Jane's conclusions. Most importantly, Marilyn was a tireless friend, and her efforts on Jane's behalf extended well beyond what is required of a research assistant or editor, particularly in Jane's last year.

During the posthumous editing of the manuscript, the task of checking, updating, and editing the 53 entries on 123 panels of English and French stained glass could never have been accomplished without the generous help of a pride of colleagues. Jane's fellow members of the American Committee of the *Corpus Vitrearum*, Madeline Caviness, Michael Cothren, Alyce Jordan, Meredith Lillich, Linda Papanicolau, and Elizabeth Pastan acted as initial readers for many of the entries in this volume. In particular, Michael Cothren, Meredith Lillich, and Elizabeth Pastan were much-valued sounding boards and contributors throughout the editing process. Many additional colleagues in the *Corpus Vitrearum* together with international specialists in stained-glass studies generously contributed to this process, either to Jane's research or the editors' work, including D. Michael Archer, Ernst Bacher, Rudiger Becksmann, Catherine Brisac, Sarah Brown, Renée K. Burnam, Linda Cannon, Bettina Elmendorff, Anna Eavis, Michel Hérold, Mary Clerkin Higgins, Gloria Gilmore House, Ariane Isler de Jongh, David King, Dennis King, Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler, Claudine Lautier, Richard Marks, Nigel Morgan, David O'Connor, Françoise Perrot, Anne Prache, Nicholas Rogers, Stefan Trümpler, Thomas Venturella, and Hilary Wayment.

In preparing this catalogue for publication, colleagues both here and abroad have been enormously helpful, often going to great lengths in their assistance – an enduring testimony to the respect Jane holds in the field. They include Elisabeth Antoine, Victoria R. Aspinwall, Pamela Blum, Christopher Booth, Brett Bostock, Anne Bruishalz, Shaun Cole, Judith Crouch, Markus Cruse, Michael Davis, Laurinda Dixon, Martin Durrant, Martha Easton, Elizabeth Hartley, Mark Haworth-Booth, Ellen Sue Jeffers, Rev. David Jenkins, Yuying Liang, Robert Little, Stephen Morely, Antonia Petrash, Claire Pigne, Joëlle Poncet, Catha Grace Rambusch, Marion Roberts, Rachel U. Tassone, Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, and Sally Whitman.

Both Jane and the editors for this volume have been blessed with many colleagues at the Metropolitan Museum – both present and former staff members – who offered crucial assistance throughout the lengthy preparation of this catalogue, including Christina Alphonso, Elizabeth R. Baldwin, Peter Barnet, John Biando, Barbara Drake Boehm, Christine Brennan, Barbara Bridgers and the staff of the Photo Studio, Katherine Brown, Barbara Burn, Stephen Campbell, Julien Chapuis, Suse Childs, Susan Chun, Johanna Cooper, Barbara File, Heather Flaherty, Meredith

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Museum interns have been the backbone of preparing Jane's manuscript for publication – a veritable *équipe* – and thanks are not enough to express appreciation for the countless hours spent bringing this catalogue into being. Laura Crook, Andra Eglitis, Dave Feder, David Fiegel, Catherine Gros, Lyle Humphrey, Corrina Moucheaud, and Emily Robbins all made important contributions. Research assistants Lindsay Koval and Tiffany Sprague deserve special recognition, for without their relentless efforts this catalogue never would have been realized.

Most significantly, the sage patience of William D. Wixom saw Jane through many a crisis and together with Museum Director Philippe de Montebello and Senior Vice President for External Affairs Emily Rafferty, he secured funding for Jane's work on the Corpus in her last years. Enormous thanks is due to them together with Doralynn Pines, Associate Director for Administration, who recognized the importance of publishing Jane's catalogue and whose support of this project, together with John P. O'Neill, Editor in Chief and General Manager for Publications, has been steadfast. Grants made to the American Committee of the Corpus Vitrearum from the Kress Foundation, the J. Paul Getty Trust, and the National Endowment for the Humanities helped to support portions of Jane's initial work on the project. This publication is made possible by the Samuel I. Newhouse Foundation, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, The Drue E. Heinz Fund, and The Evelyn Sharp Foundation. The felicitous collaboration with Elly Miller of Harvey Miller Publishers and the designer Elwyn Blacker, Blacker Ltd, has made for two accessible and elegant volumes – which we believe do justice to Jane's spirit and devotion to the Metropolitan Museum's renown collection of medieval stained glass.

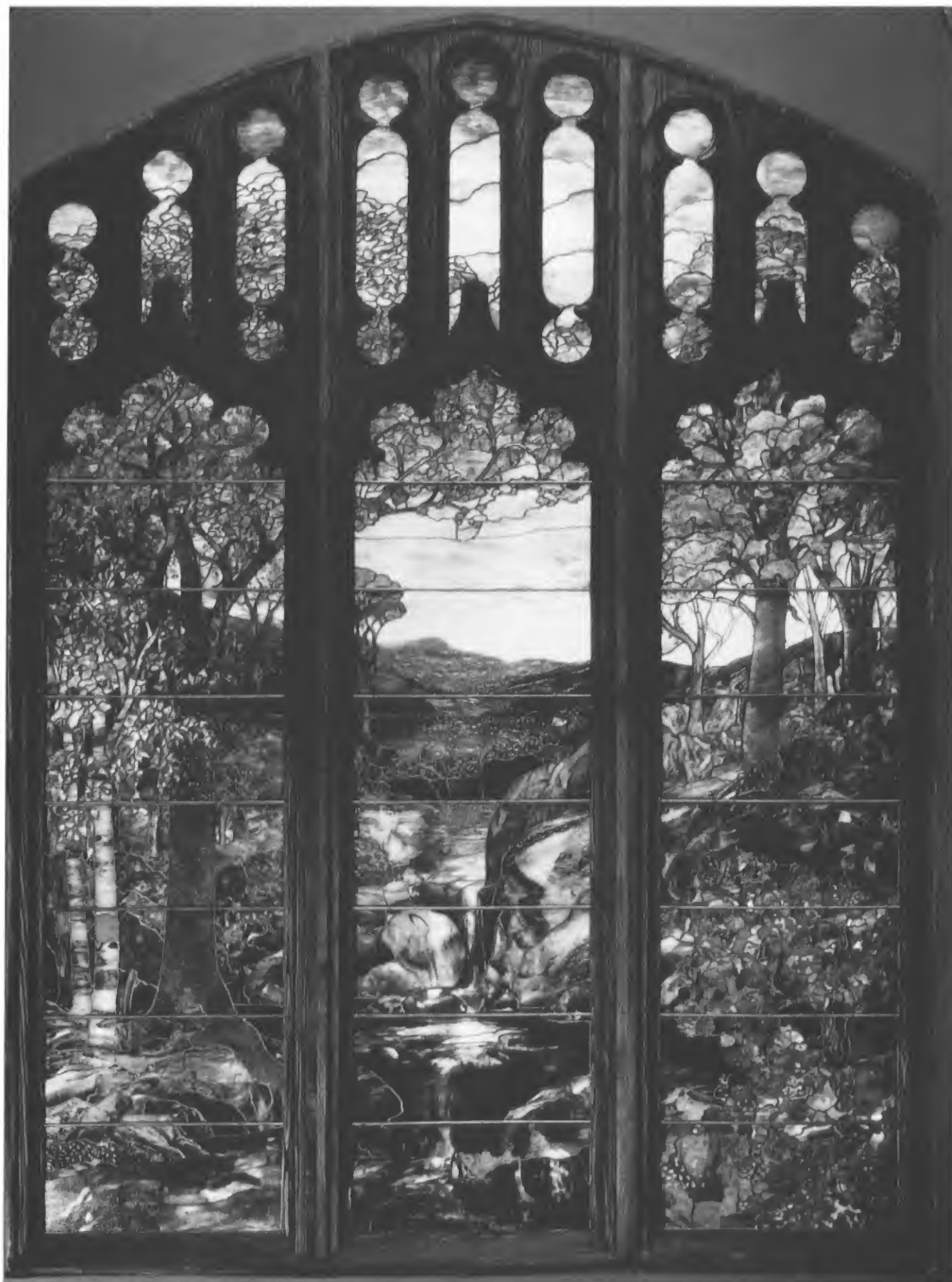
A HISTORY OF COLLECTING MEDIEVAL STAINED GLASS AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Mary B. Shepard

IN 1899, NEARLY THIRTY YEARS after The Metropolitan Museum of Art first opened its doors, a guidebook praised the comprehensive scope of the young institution's collection, proclaiming "there is hardly anything in an art way that does not find some form of expression in this admirably arranged storehouse of the beautiful. . . . In art matters, from the earliest beginnings to the latest word in foreign or domestic work, record is kept here."¹ Despite such wide-ranging claims, the arts of medieval Europe were not represented among the Museum's holdings; the book's table of contents jumped from Greek and Roman antiquities to European Old Masters and American paintings. And while it was maintained that "no form of art work has been neglected where it has been possible to procure a specimen,"² the first example of stained glass – medieval or otherwise – did not enter the Museum's collection until almost forty years after the Metropolitan's founding in 1870. The French triplet window *La Danse des fiançailles* (1885; text ill. 1), designed by Luc-Oliver Merson (1846–1920) and executed by Eugène Stanislas Oudinot (1827–1889), was donated to the Museum in 1906 through the bequest of Adelaide Mott Bell, the widow of its original owner. Announcing the gift as an "impeccable example of French stained glass of our own time," the Museum *Bulletin* declared the window to be "a start toward what may be a general collection of modern glass."³



1. LUC-OLIVER MERSON and EUGÈNE STANISLAS OUDINOT, *La Danse des fiançailles* (The Engagement Ball), France (Passy), 1885. Flashed, enameled, and clear glass with vitreous paint and silver stain. Bequest of Adelaide Mott Bell, 1906 (06.2920-c)



2. LOUIS COMFORT TIFFANY and TIFFANY STUDIOS, *Autumn Landscape*, United States (New York), 1923–24. Leaded favrile glass. Gift of Robert W. de Forest, 1925 (25.173)

"A note of color"

JOSEPH H. BRECK, Curator of Decorative Arts, 1924

As additional contemporary stained-glass windows were acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, critical commentary on them was uniformly expressed in terms of color, the well-established primary attribute of the medium. "The love of color is inherent," declared a writer in 1881, "and there is no form that color takes which appeals more powerfully to the senses than in glass. This is universal. . . . Color and light are the two greatest tonics of the body and the feelings, and in glass we find them each enhancing the charm of the other."⁴ The American glass painter Otto Heinigke (1851–1915) succinctly pronounced stained glass to be "color in suspension."⁵ Accordingly, an ornamental stained-glass lunette (c.1882) by American John La Farge (1835–1910) was hailed for its "subtle gradations of color and beautiful variations of tone."⁶ At a ceremony marking the installation of the imposing *Autumn Landscape* (1923–24; text ill. 2), the donor – Museum president Robert W. de Forest (1848–1931) – acknowledged the artist, Louis Comfort Tiffany (1848–1933), to be a "master of color. . . . And if some of his work seems tropical in its profusion, it is because in the tropics is found the greatest wealth of color."⁷ Even the Merson/Ouidinot *Danse* was likened to "the jewel effect of certain medieval windows, where the incrustations of centuries have changed what was a flat color into a variety of tints."⁸

The stated valuation of stained glass at this time, calculated in terms of its "gloriously effulgent" qualities, demonstrates a conservative aesthetic first established in domestic interiors and later institutionalized.⁹ When the Merson/Ouidinot, La Farge, and Tiffany windows moved from patrons' homes to the Metropolitan Museum's galleries, they presaged the sage observation by celebrated museum director and architectural historian Fiske Kimball that museumgoers "like best the things with which they are most familiar."¹⁰ In this way, stained glass and its colorful luminosity established what Carol Duncan has called a model "of discerning taste and splendor."¹¹

The result was a kind of conditioning in which the critical response to all stained glass, including medieval glass painting, continued to be formulated first and foremost in terms of color. The "charm of the early medieval glass" was interpreted as residing in "its primitive technique and kaleidoscopic patterns which were the direct outgrowth of the perfected art of wall mosaic. In the best glass of this period the pattern is almost completely lost sight of in the brilliancy and harmony of the color scheme."¹² For example, a panel showing the *Symbols of the Four Evangelists* (text ill. 3),



3. *The Symbols of the Four Evangelists* in the style of Gothic stained glass, acquired in 1912 (from Friedley 1912, p. 212)

acquired prior to 1912 and, like others, eventually consigned to a storeroom or deaccessioned,¹³ was valued for its “intense blue [background], found only in stained glass in its highest perfection. The other colors are strong and pure with white very sparingly used, while the pieces of glass are small, so that the color appears all the more intense.”¹⁴

The market for medieval stained glass had existed in England only since the eighteenth century and on the Continent not before the large-scale destruction of churches and monasteries in the tumultuous aftermath of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars.¹⁵ By 1912, when the Metropolitan began to acquire medieval stained glass in earnest, notable English and German collections had long been formed, among them those of Henry Vaughan (1809–1899) in London; Sir William Jerningham (1736–1809) at Costessey Hall (Norfolk); John William Egerton (1753–1823), seventh Earl of Bridgewater, and John Cust (1779–1853), first Earl of Brownlow, both at Ashridge Park (Hertfordshire); and Friedrich Franz von Anhalt-Dessau (1740–1817) at Wörlitz.¹⁶ Yet, even as early as 1902 Otto Heinigke observed that panels of medieval glass, although rare, were for sale: “I saw a collection of a dozen pieces of rich Thirteenth Century French glass for sale in Paris last year at a comparative bargain – thanks to some restoration somewhere. I did not ask the name of the place, – for one dreads to find a spot where murder has been committed.”¹⁷ Maurice Drake (1875–1923), an influential English scholar of stained glass, observed much the same in 1912:

Though a few hundred collectors are in constant search of it, and perhaps twice as many antiquaries may display some curiosity when it is brought under their notice, the great bulk of English people care nothing whatever about old stained-glass. I have seen a farmer removing fourteenth-century grisaille with a shovel. . . . Outside the walls of a cathedral in the Midlands I have picked up fragments of Decorated Royal coats-of-arms that had been thrown away as of no value, and have seen thirteenth-century grisaille from another English cathedral sold in boxes by the hundredweight – all these well within the last ten years.¹⁸

American enthusiasm for collecting “ancient” stained glass was slow to develop. Among the gift of over 2,200 works of medieval art that came to the Metropolitan in 1916 and 1917 from the estate of the legendary financier and voracious collector J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913), only two stained-glass roundels were included – the majority of Morgan’s collection of stained glass remained in London at the Victoria and Albert Museum or was installed in his private library on East Thirty-sixth Street in Manhattan.¹⁹ In fact, the two Morgan panels bequeathed to the Museum were originally part of the Georges Hoentschel collection, acquired by Morgan in 1906 and initially loaned to the Metropolitan in 1908.²⁰ Cut down and composed into roundels at a later date, these bust-length male figures not only eloquently testify to the elegance of Norman-Parisian glass painting about 1500, but also speak to how later generations at the turn of the twentieth century appropriated stained glass as an essentially decorative commodity.²¹

In truth, the leading American collectors of the day gave little thought to early stained glass as works of medieval art. Glass painting from the Middle Ages, with its so-called “primitive drawing” and lack of naturalism, was pejoratively regarded as a product of “the dark ages throughout which the monkish tradition prevailed that flesh was the devil and had to be subjugated.”²² Few among Morgan’s American contemporaries who collected art on a grand scale, even those who acquired works from the Middle Ages or so-called Italian Primitives, purchased medieval stained glass: Benjamin Altman (1840–1913), Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919), Samuel Henry Kress



Plate 1. Fragment of a
Border from a Moses (?)
window. France, Abbey
Church of Saint-Denis,
1140-44 (No. 1)

Plate 2. Two Fragments
of a Border from
an *Infancy of Christ*
window. France, Abbey
Church of Saint-Denis,
1140-44 (No. 2A,B)





Plate 3. Panel with Censing Angels from a *Dormition of the Virgin* window. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c. 1170 (No. 4)

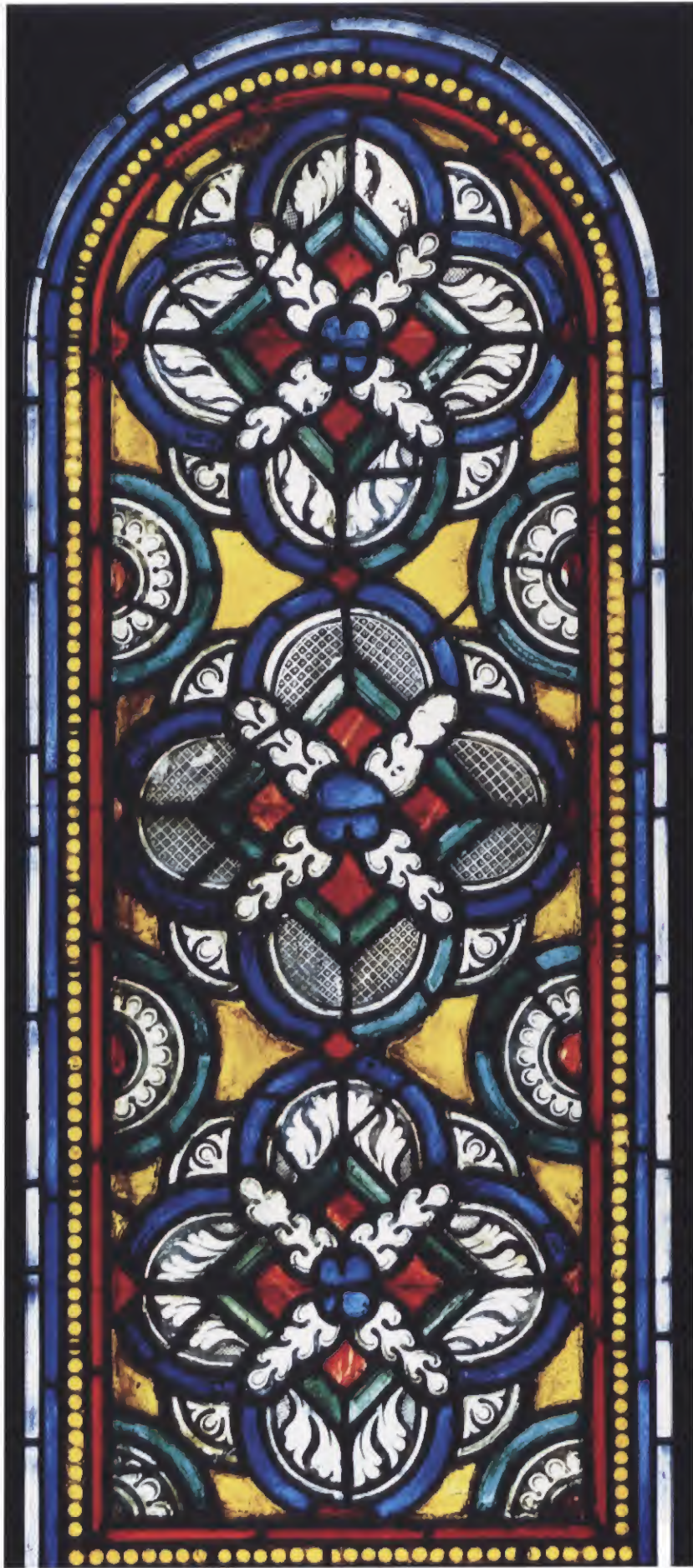


Plate 4. Portion of an ornamental window.
France, Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi,
c. 1180 (No. 6)

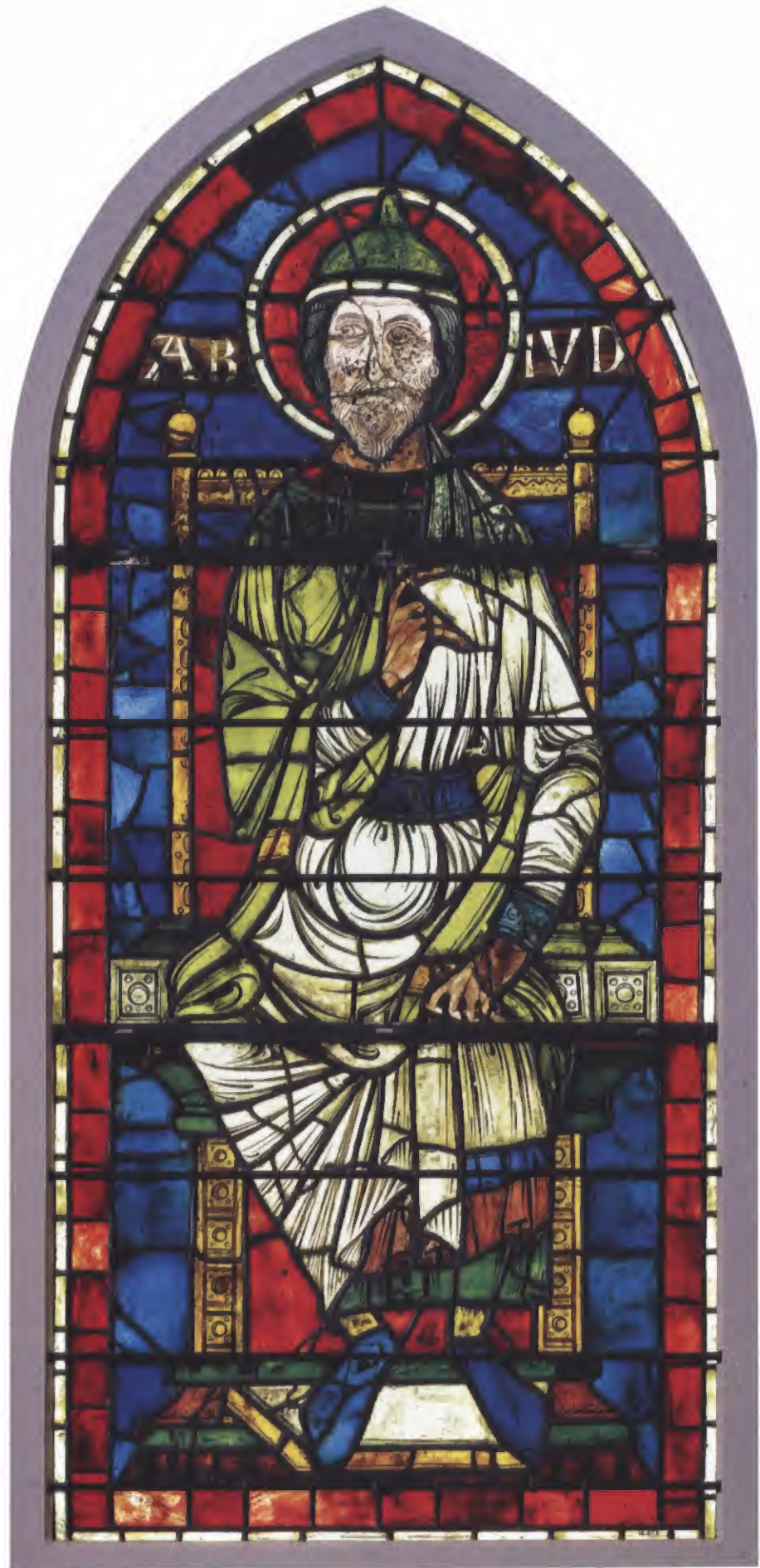


Plate 5. *Bust of Abiud and the lower part of another Ancestor of Christ. Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, c.1200 (Nos. 9 and 10)*



Plate 6. (left) *God Incarnate closing the Door of Noah's Ark.* (right) *St. Martial founding the Cathedral See of Poitiers.* France, Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c.1190 (Nos. 7 and 8)



Plate 7. *Theodosius arrives at Ephesus*. France, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, 1200–1210 (No. 11)



Plate 8. *Three Innocent Soldiers condemned to Death*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c.1200–1210 (No. 12)



Plate 9. *St. Nicholas accuses the Consul*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c.1200–1210 (No. 13)



Plate 10. Heads from the ambulatory windows at Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, by 1214. Pot-metal glass with vitreous paint



Plate 11. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c.1185-1205 (No. 15)



Plate 12. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c.1185-1205 (No. 16)



Plate 13. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c.1200/1205-23 (No. 14)



Plate 14. Section of a Border. France, Amiens (?), c.1230-40 (No. 18)



Plate 15. Panel from a Grisaille Window. France, Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, c. 1240 (No. 21)



Plate 16. Prophet from a *Tree of Jesse* window. France, Beauvaisis, c.1245 (No. 23)



Plate 17. *King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns*. France, Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien, 1245-48 (No. 24)



Plate 18. Scenes from the *Legend of St. Vincent of Spain*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (Nos. 28–38)

(1863–1955), Henry E. Huntington (1850–1927), and P. A. B. Widener (1834–1915) and his son Joseph (1872–1943) all ignored it.²³ Only two, Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924) of Boston, and Henry Walters (1848–1931) of Baltimore and New York, added distinctly early Gothic stained glass to their collections. In 1906 Gardner purchased a lancet group with scenes from the lives of St. Nicasius and St. Eutropia (1195/1210–15; 12/fig. 3) from the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons.²⁴ Walters followed suit in 1910, acquiring four massive thirteenth-century clerestory prophets composed of elements from the Cathedral of Soissons and the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine.²⁵ New York stockbroker Henry C. Lawrence (1859–1919) was something of a special case. Remembered as a “lover of the beautiful,” Lawrence was unique in that his collection – housed in his Upper West-side residence – was restricted entirely to Gothic art, including furniture, tapestries, and an astonishingly fine collection of thirteenth-century French stained glass. Unlike his New York City counterparts, however, Lawrence was not particularly involved with The Metropolitan Museum of Art.²⁶

It was not Morgan’s personal holdings that galvanized the Metropolitan into seriously collecting early stained glass but rather his influence as Museum patron and administrator.²⁷ As president of the Museum (1904–13), Morgan was committed to turning the Museum’s pattern of collecting away from secondary works of art and plaster-cast copies of European masterpieces toward original objects of the highest quality.²⁸ The appointment of two scholars, the German art historian William R. Valentiner (1880–1958) and the American zoologist Bashford Dean (1867–1928), was decisive in shaping the Museum’s collection of medieval stained glass. Valentiner was hired in December of 1907 as curator of Decorative Arts, a newly formed department responsible for organizing and installing the Gothic and eighteenth-century French sculpture and woodwork that came to the Museum through the Hoentschel collection purchased by Morgan.²⁹ American glass painters, such as Heinigke and Joseph Lauber (1855–1948), had been especially critical of the dearth of good medieval stained glass at the Metropolitan, complaining that the Museum had just “two small pieces, but what they are I defy anyone to guess” and only “a rather bad example of mediaeval glass.”³⁰ It was during Valentiner’s tenure (1907–14) that the Museum made significant purchases, including, in 1911, two quatrefoils with genre and tournament scenes after the Master of the Housebook (c.1475); in 1912, the standing figure of St. Roch from Cologne (c.1510) and the imposing composite window of late medieval English glass; in 1913, four panels depicting the *Nativity*, *Visitation*, *Deposition*, and *Entombment* from the Carmelite Church of St. Severinus in Boppard am Rhein (1445), plus an ornamental roundel traditionally attributed to the cathedral at Salisbury (c.1260–70; No. 61); and, in 1914, the composite ancestor figure from the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine (c.1200; Nos. 9 and 10).³¹ These superb works evidenced both a new acuity in judging quality in glass painting as well as an interest in acquiring stained glass within a broader encyclopedic focus.³² Valentiner’s training under the renowned director of the Berlin museums, Wilhelm von Bode (1845–1929), and his exposure to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum’s admirable collection of European stained glass (see Schmitz 1913), coupled with his yearly buying trips abroad, doubtless contributed to this new discernment in collecting.³³

Through his use of evocative groupings of medieval furniture and sculpture from the Hoentschel collection and his proposed “period rooms” for the new Morgan Wing of decorative arts, Valentiner introduced a contextual approach to museum installation that welcomed the addition of medieval stained glass. Period rooms were not unknown at the Museum at this time;

the frescoed chamber from Boscoreale near Pompeii, Italy (c.40–30 BC) had been purchased in 1903, followed by the paneled room from Flims, Switzerland (c.1682), in 1906.³⁴ Valentiner brought a new enthusiasm for this type of installation to the Museum's burgeoning collection of medieval art, one which he advocated could "[realize] . . . the 'totality of art.'" ³⁵ By 1910 stained glass was employed to create a suggestive atmosphere for the Hoentschel collection, as an article in the *Museum Bulletin* explained: "We have endeavored to give this room (a small side gallery), with dark blue background and richly colored stained windows, the gloomy effect of a Gothic interior."³⁶ This emotive use of stained glass to suggest an ambiance of the past was grounded in eighteenth-century notions of the Romantic sublime, and could have just as easily been voiced by Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839), the founder and director of the short-lived *Musée des monumens français* (1795–1816) in Paris. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Lenoir characterized the Gothic stained glass in his Gallery of the Thirteenth Century as imparting an "air of ardent piety," embracing that "magic by which one perpetually maintains those struck by superstitious fear in a state of weakness."³⁷

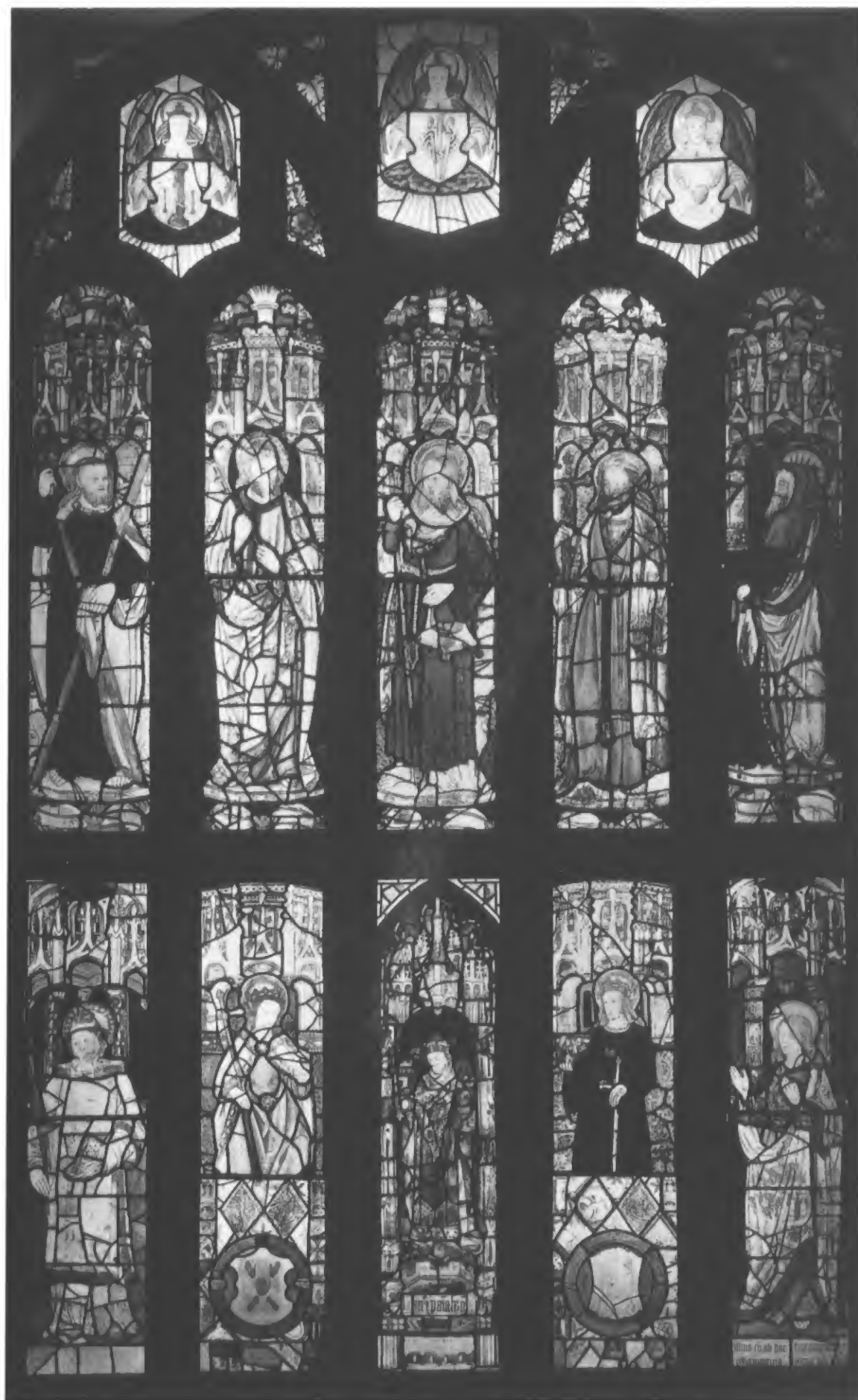
Examples of medieval stained glass were integrated throughout the exhibition of Morgan's extraordinary collection of Gothic art (as well as in the Metropolitan's "Gold Room," located on the second floor),³⁸ yet by 1922 the stated value of the glass continued to rest in its atmospheric qualities. Museum publications consistently listed stained glass at the end of each gallery discussion without specifying its subject: "The twelfth- and thirteenth-century stained glass in the windows is superb in design and color"; "a note of color is brought into the room by panels of stained glass of the twelfth to the fourteenth century"; and "[the glass is] characterized . . . by the employment chiefly of full pure color whose general tone is deep and rich."³⁹ Even the English composite window (text ill. 4), which curator Durr Friedley lauded as "the most notable specimen of stained glass in the Museum and one of the most important in the United States," was curtly referred to in a gallery guide as "English of the fifteenth century."⁴⁰

"The décor of stained glass"

BASHFORD DEAN, Curator of Arms and Armor, 1923

An appreciation for the ambient qualities of stained glass similarly distinguished the approach of another Morgan appointee, Bashford Dean. An expert in prehistoric armored fish and professor of vertebrate zoology at Columbia University, Dean was also a highly respected authority on arms and armor.⁴¹ He officially joined the Museum's staff in 1906, after cataloguing and installing the recently acquired armor collection of the French duc de Dino.⁴² Records of Dean's yearly buying trips to Europe demonstrate an active concurrent interest in stained glass as well as arms and armor. Remarks on his visits to well-known dealers, especially to those located in Paris, notably Michel Acézat, Bacri Frères, Augustin Lambert, André Lion, and Raoul Heilbronner, in addition to Rivières in Toulouse, frequently appear in his travel diaries.⁴³

Dean was influenced in the installation of arms and armor collections by the American expatriot William H. Riggs (1837–1924), with whom he spent a great deal of time in Paris before the outbreak of World War I and whose collection the Metropolitan Museum was eager to acquire.⁴⁴ Riggs's home provided a model of the kind of atmospheric presentation of armor that Dean came to embrace. According to Dean, Riggs "sought 'accessories' for his gallery (including) delightful portraits of chevaliers cap-à-pie in rich armor, interesting stained glass, wall-hangings, and furniture." These "great leaded windows colored by panels of stained glass," as Dean



4. Nos. 100–108.
Composite Window
with Late-Medieval
English Glass,
c.1425–1565.
Photograph shows
window condition,
pre-restoration

described them, dated from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and were reportedly from the old town hall in Solothurn, Switzerland; they were included among Riggs's donation to the Metropolitan in 1913.⁴⁵

This kind of installation stuck with Dean. Not only did he collect with the intention of showing his private armor collection among such "collateral documents," but he also advised other collectors to do the same.⁴⁶ In order to properly create "a Renaissance or Gothic room," he counseled, "one must see in it not merely massive walls, timbered roof, rich tapestries and furniture, but the *décor* of Stained Glass and the beautiful color of Ancient Armor."⁴⁷ Elected as the first president of a group of collectors known as the Armor and Arms Club of New York City, Dean's opinions on armor and his notions on how to exhibit it had long carried considerable weight.⁴⁸ Carl Otto von Kienbusch (1883–1976), a member of the club and a professed protégé of Dean's, adopted exactly this type of installation for the "Armory" of his East Seventy-fourth Street townhouse in New York City. Lit by three large windows filled with stained glass, Kienbusch's

display evoked the romantic grandeur of nineteenth-century European armor halls, such as those in Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford in Scotland and Schloss Erbach in Germany.⁴⁹ Nor was this well-heeled European model adopted only by collectors of arms and armor. Isabella Stewart Gardner installed stained glass from Milan Cathedral in a private chamber dubbed "The Gothic Room" at Fenway Park, where "the paneling of wood, heavy-beamed ceiling, old stained glass, and massive furniture" was touted as "[suggesting] a baronial hall."⁵⁰ The New York elite were also not slow to embrace this "look," particularly for the public rooms of their country houses.


The vogue for creating historicizing interiors was well entrenched by 1917, when a writer to *Good Furniture* magazine noted the reciprocity between "wealthy house builders" whose "interiors . . . [are] veritable museums of antique furniture, textiles and other enrichments" and museums, who have "followed suit," making "the possibilities . . . that the museums are beginning to play in decorative art education . . . almost limitless."⁵¹ Indeed, the Hoentschel collection at the Metropolitan was singled out as an exemplar of this kind of exchange.⁵² The expressed



5. Nos. 114 and 115 as installed in the balcony of the Vélez Blanco Patio, George Blumenthal House, Park Avenue and Seventieth Street, New York City, in 1941 (from Taylor 1941, p. 197)

6. Advertisement for Charles of London (from *The International Studio* 86 [April 1927], p. 81)

CHARLES of LONDON



INTERIORS
OLD ENGLISH
FURNITURE
TAPESTRIES

TWO WEST FIFTY-SIXTH STREET, NEW YORK
LONDON: 56 NEW BOND STREET, W.1

MEMBER ANTIQUE AND DECORATIVE ARTS LEAGUE

ideal of combining “elements which have set the standards of taste in the past . . . with [those] of the present and the future”⁵³ fostered an increasingly hospitable climate for the sale of medieval and Renaissance stained glass to those wealthy house builders, many of whom were also patrons of the Metropolitan. For some, such as Florence Blumenthal (d. 1930), the first wife of George Blumenthal (1858–1941; the Museum’s president from 1934 until his death), stained glass (such *St. Catherine* and *St. John the Evangelist*, Nos. 114 and 115) functioned as an atmospheric light source on stairway landings or provided vistas down hall or balcony walkways (text ill. 5).⁵⁴ The deep, rich colors of this double-light window, purchased by Mrs. Blumenthal in 1916, helped to further the “sumptuous” atmosphere of the new house she assiduously worked to create on East Seventieth Street – an ambience in which living with the past was taken seriously. The art dealer Germain Seligman recalled how, in the evenings, Mrs. Blumenthal liked to “wear Renaissance velvet gowns, in dark jewel-like colors which not only enhanced her beauty but gave her an air of having been born to this superb environment where every work of art seemed timelessly at home.”⁵⁵

Even in less ostentatious settings, medieval and Renaissance stained glass was a favorite decorative garnish in the windows of Jacobean-style interiors throughout the New York metropolitan area. Heraldic glass – both old and new – was particularly favored for libraries, living rooms, and dining rooms of mansions stretching from the exclusive enclave of Tuxedo, New York, to Long Island’s Gold Coast.⁵⁶ Design firms like Charles of London, run by Charles Duveen (d. 1940), the second son of the art dealer Sir Joseph Joel Duveen (1843–1908), fostered these kind of historicizing interiors well into the 1920s (text ill. 6).⁵⁷

Museum trustee George D. Pratt (1869–1935), a strong supporter of Bashford Dean, followed this decorating trend. Windows throughout his Jacobean-style mansion, Killenworth, located in Glen Cove, New York, were glazed with “small, heavily leaded rectangles of clear glass, and set . . .



7. The dining room at George D. Pratt's estate, Killenworth, at the beginning of its occupancy (from *Country Life* 1914, p. 39)

like precious jewels in many colors” with “odd bits of old stained glass that Mr. Pratt [had] picked up from time to time.”⁵⁸ Photographs of the Killenworth living and dining rooms taken just after the mansion’s completion in 1913 show Pratt’s collection at the time to be predominately heraldic, with the exception of the English *St. Ursula* (c.1500; No. 109), which resided in a central upper-tracery light (text ill. 7).⁵⁹ Pratt was a client of the London-based dealer Grosvenor Thomas (1856–1923) and purchased heraldic glass at Thomas’s groundbreaking New York sale in 1913 at the Charles Gallery, no doubt looking to furnish the windows of Killenworth.⁶⁰ Pratt maintained an active business relationship with Thomas and his son Roy (d.1956), from whom he later acquired some of his best figural glass, including the German four lights with Saints and Donors (c.1505–1510) and *Flight into Egypt* (c.1460–70) previously owned by the Jerningham family of Costessey Hall in England.⁶¹ In Pratt’s interest, Bashford Dean kept a lookout not only for arms and armor but also for “ancient” stained glass; correspondence between European dealers and Dean include repeated suggestions of stained glass for Pratt’s consideration.⁶² Photographs of Killenworth made in 1934 show the installation of selected figural glass, such as the Cologne *Virgin of the Apocalypse* (1430–35; text ill. 8). The result was a formidable collection of stained glass from the end of the Middle Ages, most of it German and Flemish. In 1936 Pratt’s widow, Vera Amherst Hale Pratt, gave the Burgundian *Annunciation* and *Nativity* (c.1440; Nos. 86 and 87) to the Museum; five years later, in 1941, forty-four panels of stained glass came to the Metropolitan with the cession of her life interest in the collection.⁶³



8. View of Killenworth showing the Cologne *Virgin of the Apocalypse* (41.170.93a and b) installed, 1934

The Museum benefitted not only from Pratt's munificence but also from his leadership in working with curator Bashford Dean to expand, in both quality and quantity, the Metropolitan's collection of early Gothic stained glass. While the two men appear initially to have been drawn to stained glass for its decorative and atmospheric qualities, they grew to appreciate it in its own right. Dean, in particular, reflected that his academic interest in stained glass as a document of "how armor was worn" led to investigations of "how painted glass could be accurately dated and by what means genuine specimens could be distinguished from forgeries." This kind of sustained exposure (I "bought everywhere specimens of glass – even detached fragments") resulted,

by his own admission, in stained glass "[occupying] an undue share of [my] thought and means."⁶⁴ Indeed, Dean bought with gusto. Some panels were destined for auctions that he sponsored, while others were folded into his personal collection.⁶⁵

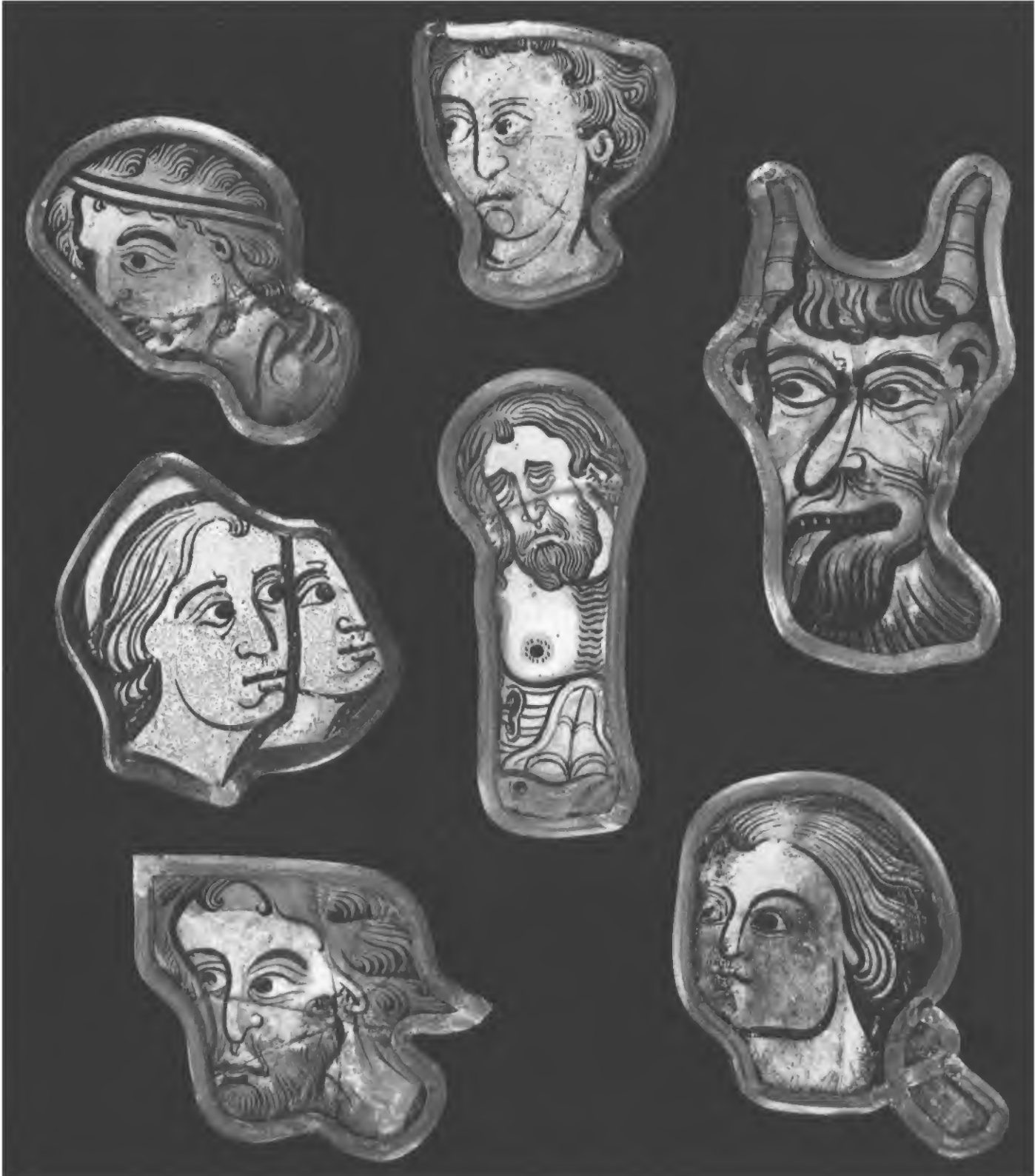
Fragments represented an important element in Dean's collecting; he saw them as valuable tools in understanding the complexities of the glass painter's art. This conviction, in turn, shaped the Museum's holdings. In 1923 he gave the Museum a large group of fragments mounted on rectangular glass-plate "frames" organized according to technical exempla, ranging from "YELLOW STAINS—XIV–XVII CENTURY" to "LEADING OF ANCIENT GLASS—XII–XV (CENTURY)" and to "GRISAILLE—XIII–XIV CENTURY," which he intended as study pieces "[proving] of service to one who seeks first-hand knowledge."⁶⁶ Additional fragments came to the Museum through an archeological dig Dean led in 1926 at the crusaders' castle at Montfort in modern Israel.⁶⁷ Glass shards found during the excavation included remnants of stained-glass windows from the fortress chapel and two adjoining chambers. Heavily green in tone and painted with vitreous paint, this small cache also included bits of blue and green glass. Dean superimposed selected pieces upon his own personal panels of grisaille (now in the Princeton University Art Museum) to illustrate "how our fragments from Montfort may be interpreted . . . in grisaille with both bands and interlaced foliation" (text ill. 9).⁶⁸ In addition, Pratt bought a group of 279 stained-glass "fragments" from Dean's collection expressly for the Metropolitan.⁶⁹ Among these pieces, the majority of which are small remnants of color or ornament, were eight splendid heads from the ambulatory of the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges (text ill. 10).⁷⁰ Recently conserved, these



9. Grisaille fragments excavated from the Crusader fortress at Montfort superimposed upon a mid-thirteenth-century French grisaille lancet head owned by Bashford Dean (now at the Princeton University Art Museum; from Dean 1927, fig. 58)

commanding faces – from the blood-red devil to the elegiac Christ – testify to the keenness of Dean’s eye and to his appreciation for strong glass painting, no matter the size.⁷¹

In an effort to make “helpful addition[s] to the exhibitions,” Pratt and Dean combined forces to acquire of some of the most important early French glass now in the Museum’s collection.⁷² In



10. Heads from the ambulatory windows at Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, by 1214. Pot-metal glass with vitreous paint. Gift of George D. Pratt, 1930 (30.73.259-268)

1924 – just three years following the momentous sale of the Henry Lawrence collection, whose high prices changed the landscape for buying medieval stained glass⁷³ – Dean and Pratt bought the lancet with scenes from the *Passion and Relics History of St. Vincent* (Nos. 28–40) from the Parisian monastery of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. This important acquisition was followed by a group of twelfth and thirteenth-century ornament that also included two early thirteenth-century Jesse Tree prophets (Nos. 1–3, 6, 17, 22 and 23), purchased in 1926. All these works, never intended for Pratt’s private collection, were outright gifts to the Museum.⁷⁴ Pratt and Dean consulted in Paris over the Saint-Germain-des-Prés glass, while in the case of the 1926 group of panels, Dean simply wired Pratt from Paris that he had found some “interesting panels” and Pratt cabled him the money. In both instances, Pratt specified that the stained glass be sent directly to the Museum.⁷⁵ Although Pratt valued the aesthetic character of glass painting from this early period, playfully ribbing Museum officials that “If (the St. Vincent lancet) doesn’t cheer you up I miss my guess” and, more seriously, “To my mind it is one of the most beautiful pieces of 13th Century glass that I have seen in any museum,”⁷⁶ his personal taste inclined toward late medieval and Renaissance panels.⁷⁷ While Pratt’s financial gifts evidence a growing admiration for Gothic stained glass, he had not completely shed his regard for its more purely atmospheric attributes, as he suggested to the curator of Decorative Arts – in a sly paraphrase of decorating slang – that the St. Vincent lancet would be “a superb thing for one of [the Museum’s medieval] rooms, ‘going’ so well with your ivories and enamels.”⁷⁸ Nonetheless, the remark belies Pratt’s increasingly sophisticated sensitivity to the medium. He maintained that “if we can place the glass that we have in the Museum in surroundings somewhat similar to its original environment, it will give it a value more than when all types of glass are placed together.”⁷⁹ This desire for stained glass to be installed in contextual settings made a subtle yet crucial break with the Museum’s earlier proclivity to think of stained glass as an evocative decorative enhancement. Pratt conferred upon stained glass a worthiness inherent in and of itself and sought ways to display it so that this virtue could be readily perceived, a sentiment that was to inform the subsequent stained-glass purchases for the Metropolitan’s new branch museum devoted to the art of medieval Europe, The Cloisters.

“The whole history of the birth of the Gothic”

GEORGE GREY BARNARD, 1926

Like Isabella Stewart Gardner’s Fenway Park in Boston (opened to the public in 1903), the first Cloisters museum looked to display works of art in “sympathetic surroundings” allowing medieval art “to reveal the full measure of its beauty.”⁸⁰ Located in northern Manhattan on Fort Washington Avenue, the original Cloisters was created by the American sculptor George Grey Barnard (1863–1938) and opened in 1914. While living in France in the years prior to the First World War, Barnard assembled an astounding collection of French Romanesque and Gothic sculpture. He was tenacious, resourceful, and – as an artist – viscerally drawn to the vitality of medieval carving. Acquiring medieval works of art displaced from their original contexts following the religious and political upheavals in France, he rescued, for example, the affecting torso of the crucified Christ from the Auvergne (c.1130–40) from its use as a scarecrow, while capitals from the cloister of Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa (c.1130–40) in the Pyrenees were salvaged from the portico of a bathhouse in the nearby town of Prades.⁸¹

Shipped to America on the eve of the Great War, this collection was assembled in a cavernous brick basilica-like building, with galleries designated as liturgical spaces, such as “The Sacristy”



11. The "Nave" of George Grey Barnard's Cloisters, c.1925

and "The Chancel." Displaced cloister elements from southern French monasteries, including those from Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa and Saint-Guilhem-le-Désert, formed the defining structural language of the museum, which included nearly 700 works of art arranged in romanticized groupings, lit by candles, and watched over by guards dressed in religious garb (text ill. 11). It was Barnard's particularly pedagogical aim to introduce Americans – notably young artists unable to afford travel to Europe – to the inspiring wonders of what he termed "the patient Gothic chisel."⁸² The result was a space that came to be hailed as a "shrine, where medieval art is not so much on exhibition as at home."⁸³

Stained glass was a valued, even essential, factor in Barnard's creation of a distinctly medieval aura. An identifying placard for the museum read: "Gothic Monastery of France rebuilt with the original stones and stained glass for the benefit of the widows and orphans of French sculptors."⁸⁴ Barnard used stained glass to dramatic effect, whether backlighting a sculpture of the Virgin and



12. *St. George and the Dragon* (25.120.421) in "The South Transept," as installed by George Grey Barnard

Child with heterogeneous debris, balancing a corner composition in his South Transept with a late-fifteenth-century lancet of *St. George and the Dragon* (text ill. 12), or illuminating the upper reaches of the museum's "Nave" with the twelfth-century panels from the Cathedral of Poitiers (Nos. 7 and 8).⁸⁵ Enhancing the ambience of his compositional groupings in this way, Museum curator Joseph Breck (1885–1933) later observed, "stimulates the imagination and creates a receptive mood for enjoyment."⁸⁶ Indeed, Barnard's use of stained-glass windows for color displays by daylight was not so different from his dramatic illumination of the museum galleries by candlelight.⁸⁷

"To give reality to the past"

The Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1936

When the Metropolitan Museum purchased Barnard's Cloisters in 1925 with funds donated by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (1874–1960) – and then resolved several years later to build a more historically accurate museum just to the north in what is now Fort Tryon Park – an unprecedented

commitment was made to the monumental arts of the Middle Ages. Designs for the new Cloisters building strove not only to be faithful to medieval architecture but also to capture the imaginative spirit of its visitors. By 1927 Breck had recognized this fundamental appeal of the Barnard Cloisters, which he somewhat disparagingly observed “offered visitors an intimacy which is particularly favorable for the appreciation of any popular art such as that of the Middle Ages. We must stand our distance when we admire the splendor of Louis XIV, but the homely art of the cathedral buildings we want to take to our hearts.”⁸⁸ In the late 1920s, when planning for the new museum building was well underway, contextual installations were advocated as the most effective mode of engaging museum visitors as well as for conveying information about the collections.⁸⁹ Period groupings, it was felt, imparted “how fiction may warm fact, enliven it informingly, give it the slant light of life. For the objects stand before us not in the serried file of a classification by materials, but in new-made room arrangements, giving cultural pictures of the times that produced them.”⁹⁰ As a result, museum visitors would not be “wearied or bored by the dreariness of the setting of objects” but rather could “get a grip on that mysterious something, so difficult to put into words . . . a sense and appreciation of the loveliness of beauty.”⁹¹

In keeping with this philosophy, the design of the new Cloisters museum was a historicizing one; those in charge of the project believed it to be the most timeless approach to presenting works of art from the Middle Ages. Breck and the architect Charles Collens (1873–1956) designed a building evocative of Romanesque and Gothic precedents by combining monastic and fortification architecture with original elements into an integrated whole. As in Barnard’s Cloisters, the cloister capitals and columns from southern France formed the core of the new Museum, leading to individual galleries. Key to the vision of creating a “uniquely beautiful and interesting” museum structure was the decision to incorporate as many components of medieval architecture within the building as possible.⁹² The aim was to build exhibition environments that allowed “the objects to speak for themselves, inviolate, as far as possible, from time and handling and changing taste.”⁹³ By displaying works of art within their appropriate contextual environment, it was believed that objects could not be manipulated by modern perceptions and proclivities. James J. Rorimer (1905–1966), Breck’s successor as curator of Decorative Arts, and eventually director of the Metropolitan, “brooded over every detail of design, construction, and arrangement” of the new museum.⁹⁴ Architectural detailing designed by Collens was replaced with such authentic medieval elements as twelfth-century ironbound plank doors said to have come from the Pyrenees region, a thirteenth-century Burgundian lavabo, and fifteenth-century window tracery from Sens. Rockefeller funded these acquisitions through his “Gothic Fund” designated specifically for those works installed within the fabric of the Cloisters’ building.⁹⁵

With a bounty of windows providing natural light, stained glass was a necessary part of these acquisitions of monumental art.⁹⁶ Rorimer and Rockefeller were equally committed to obtaining works of the highest quality; Rockefeller stipulated that any stained glass purchased for the Museum must be “beautiful.”⁹⁷ In 1936, only two years before the branch museum’s opening, Rorimer complained about the difficulty of “[obtaining] stained glass for The Cloisters,” asserting its critical importance in creating “the proper effects in such a building.”⁹⁸ Yet, with Rockefeller’s help, an impressive collection of Austrian, French, and German glass had already been amassed. The standing figures of Isaias and Mary Magdalene attributed to Évron (c.1235; Nos. 74 and 75) were acquired as early as 1928, specifically for the new building. Four Austrian panels depicting saints (c.1410) and a *Madonna of Mercy* (c.1350–55) from Strassengel in Austria followed in

1930. Withheld from exhibition until the opening of the new Cloisters in 1938, these panels were eventually installed in the windows of the Museum's Gothic Chapel (text ill. 13) together with the French *Paschal Lamb* (late fourteenth century; No. 76) from the George Grey Barnard Collection.⁹⁹

Under Breck's auspices, an important group of sixty-nine silver-stained roundels, purchased from Roy Grosvenor Thomas (d. 1956), had also joined the collection in anticipation of the new building. Breck stipulated that the roundels be exhibited at eye level so that visitors could appreciate their subtle coloring and small-scale design. He called for a "long gallery" to be developed to show the roundels to their best advantage, warning the Metropolitan's director, Edward Robinson (1858–1931), not to buy them if such a space was not in the offing.¹⁰⁰ The Glass Gallery, a long corridor with nine lancets, was created on the south side of the Cloisters' lower level for the Thomas collection of silver-stained roundels, which included eight scenes from a *Life of Christ* series adapted from a series of engravings by the Master E. S.¹⁰¹ This appears to be the only instance in which the glass itself informed the development of a distinct gallery space at The Cloisters.¹⁰²

As the building took shape, Rorimer became increasingly keen to add stained glass to its fabric (albeit, in his words, as "an essential decorative feature of the new building"). "What we particularly

need for the new Cloisters more than anything else," he advised Rockefeller, "is stained glass, and I therefore have been keeping an eye on it."¹⁰³ In 1935 four ornamental roundels (including Nos. 19 and 20) were acquired to fill the chapel tracery lights.¹⁰⁴ The *Annunciation* (c.1390) and a companion tracery light bearing the sun, moon, and stars from the Castle Chapel at Ebreichsdorf near Vienna were subsequently purchased for "one of the lancet windows of the early Gothic Chapel at the Cloisters."¹⁰⁵ A lancet with grisaille glass from the Church of Saint-Urbain at Troyes (1265–70; No. 56A–C) was assembled the same year to fill the axial window of the twelfth-century Langon Chapel, to which the four panels from the Cathedral of Saint-Gatien at Tours (1245–48; Nos. 24–27) were set into the adjoining lights in 1937 (text ill. 14).



13. The Gothic Chapel at The Cloisters as installed at the building's opening, 1938



14. The Langon Chapel at The Cloisters, c.1940

Speaking of the Saint-Urbain grisaille, Rorimer informed Rockefeller that “I have not been able to find a piece or pieces better suited to the conditions . . . It is particularly important to have some old glass in the end window of the Romanesque chapel, as it is on the most important axis of the interior of the building.”¹⁰⁶ Five large heraldic panels (c.1504–06), said to come from the Château of the Cour des Comptes in Ghent, were purchased specifically for the Unicorn Tapestries Hall; Rorimer acknowledged to Rockefeller (who presented the celebrated tapestries from his personal collection) that he had waited to bring the panels to Rockefeller’s attention “until we could try them out in the hall [itself] . . . I was astonished to see how superbly well these panels suited the requirements. The panels would, we believe, add to the impressiveness of the room and carry color around the room. Instead of detracting from the tapestries they would serve to relieve the perhaps otherwise uninteresting windows.”¹⁰⁷

“No collection of medieval art would be complete without stained glass”

JANE HAYWARD, Curator at The Cloisters, 1975

Stained glass became an integral element of The Cloisters, in both the structure’s design and the constitution of its installations. As the Metropolitan recognized the growing strength of its medieval collection and subsequently divided the Department of Decorative Arts into two entities – the Department of Medieval Art and The Cloisters and the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts – stained glass more frequently played a defining role in the Museum’s acquisitions of medieval art. For Jane Hayward (1918–1994), who officially joined the staff in 1969, stained glass was unquestionably the preeminent form of Gothic medieval monumental painting. She set out to collect it, not to embellish existing window openings or to provide an ambience for installations of medieval art but rather to build an encyclopedic representation of the medium.¹⁰⁸

There was, in fact, only one instance of stained glass procured to enhance a specific Museum space: in 1980 Hayward obtained five German heraldic panels from the middle Rhineland (c.1500) to enrich the window transoms in the Campin Room at The Cloisters (Color Pl. 19). Designated at the building's opening to exhibit the arts of the late-medieval domestic household, this intimate gallery was re-arranged in 1950 following the acquisition of the famed triptych of the *Annunciation*, now attributed to Robert Campin (c.1378–1444) and an assistant. Furniture was moved and ceramics and metalwork added to echo the appearance of the Virgin's private chamber in the central panel of the triptych. New leaded-glass casements were made for the three double-lancet windows; eventually the original heavy velvet curtains were removed, replaced by wooden shutters opening into the interior, like those in the painting. Hayward suggested that the addition of heraldic roundels in the spirit of those depicted by Campin would represent a final touch in the reinstallation of the gallery: "This is the only gallery in the Museum where domestic rather than religious art predominates"; since "a conscious effort has been made to create a fifteenth-century domestic interior similar to the one shown in the *Annunciation* Panel of the painting," the sole remaining lacunae were "stained glass heraldic shields [like those] that appear in the upper panels of the windows in the *Annunciation* scene."¹⁰⁹

Overall, Hayward affirmed the essential role of stained glass within a comprehensive collection of medieval art and worked tenaciously until her death to fill gaps in the Museum's holdings. From the very beginning of her tenure, she sought out mid-fourteenth-century stained glass (c.1340–50) from the Church of St. Leonhard at Bad St. Leonhard im Lavantthal in Austria. Sold by the church between the two world wars to raise funds for building repairs, panels were methodically purchased whenever they appeared at auction, while scenes from a Marian cycle and *Appearances of Christ* window came to the Museum through an exchange with the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond.¹¹⁰ All of these she installed in the three turning lights of the Gothic Chapel (text ill. 15), re-designing the axial window tracery to echo the original arrangement at St. Leonhard.¹¹¹ This grouping was joined in 1986 by additional Christological scenes from Ebreichsdorf, acquired from the Museum of American Art in Washington, D.C., where they had languished in storage (not being American in origin) after their donation by Mrs. Alexander Hamilton Rice.¹¹² The result at The Cloisters was a chapel fully glazed in Austrian fourteenth-century glass of exceptional quality in which visitors could finally sense the spectacular effect of Gothic medieval spaces.

The purchase in 1969 of eight mid-thirteenth-century grisailles ascribed to the Château de Bouvreuil in Rouen (Nos. 48–55), a grisaille panel from the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Sées (No. 59), and the exquisite pair of apostles attributed to the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Rouen (No. 73) – all from the estate sale of the Parisian glazier Michel Acézat (1878–1944) – signaled a new approach to the acquisition of stained glass at the Metropolitan. Hayward's choice selections from the sale drew praise from the venerable scholar of stained-glass, Jean Lafond (1888–1975). Although he teased Hayward for her now fabled appearance at the auction (where she stood in the back disguised in a wig, floppy hat, and sunglasses), Lafond commended her acuity: "Allow me to tell you how pleased I am that you have seen to acquire three of the best lots from the Acézat collection. It is good that these pieces will be exhibited and valued at your admirable museum, The Cloisters."¹¹³ With these works Hayward made known her determination to collect all aspects of window glazing, including ornament. Like Bashford Dean and the collector Raymond Pitcairn (1885–1966), Hayward recognized the importance of



Plate 19. The Campin Room at The Cloisters, 1995



Plate 20. *King Childebert on his Way to Spain*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (No. 32)



Plate 21. *King Clothar accompanies his Brother to Spain.* France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245-47 (No. 33)



Plate 22. *Vision of a sleeping Monk*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245-47 (No. 39)



Plate 23. *A Servant carrying Two Flasks.*
France, Paris, Abbey
of Saint-Germain-des-
Prés, Lady Chapel,
c.1245-47 (No. 40)



Plate 24. Grisaille Panel. France, Rouen, Château de Bouvreil, chapel, c. 1265 (No. 48)



Plate 25. Roundel with Berries and Foliage. England, Salisbury, attributed to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, c.1260-70 (No. 61)



Plate 26.
Grisaille Panel.
France, Abbey
Church of Saint-
Denis, 1320-24
(No. 64)



Plate 27. Grisaille Panels, current installation.
France, Rouen, Abbey Church of Saint-Ouen,
1320–30 (Nos. 66–70)



Plate 28. *The Annunciation*. France, Burgundy, Dijonnais (?), c.1440 (No. 86)



Plate 29. *The Nativity*. France, Burgundy, Dijonnais (?), c. 1440 (No. 87)



Plate 30. *Two Apostles*. France, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (?), c.1320–35 (No. 73)



Plate 31. *St. Barbara* (?). England, Norfolk, c.1450 (No. 93)



Plate 32. *Standing Saint* (St. John the Evangelist). England, Gloucestershire (?), c.1475-80 (No. 106)



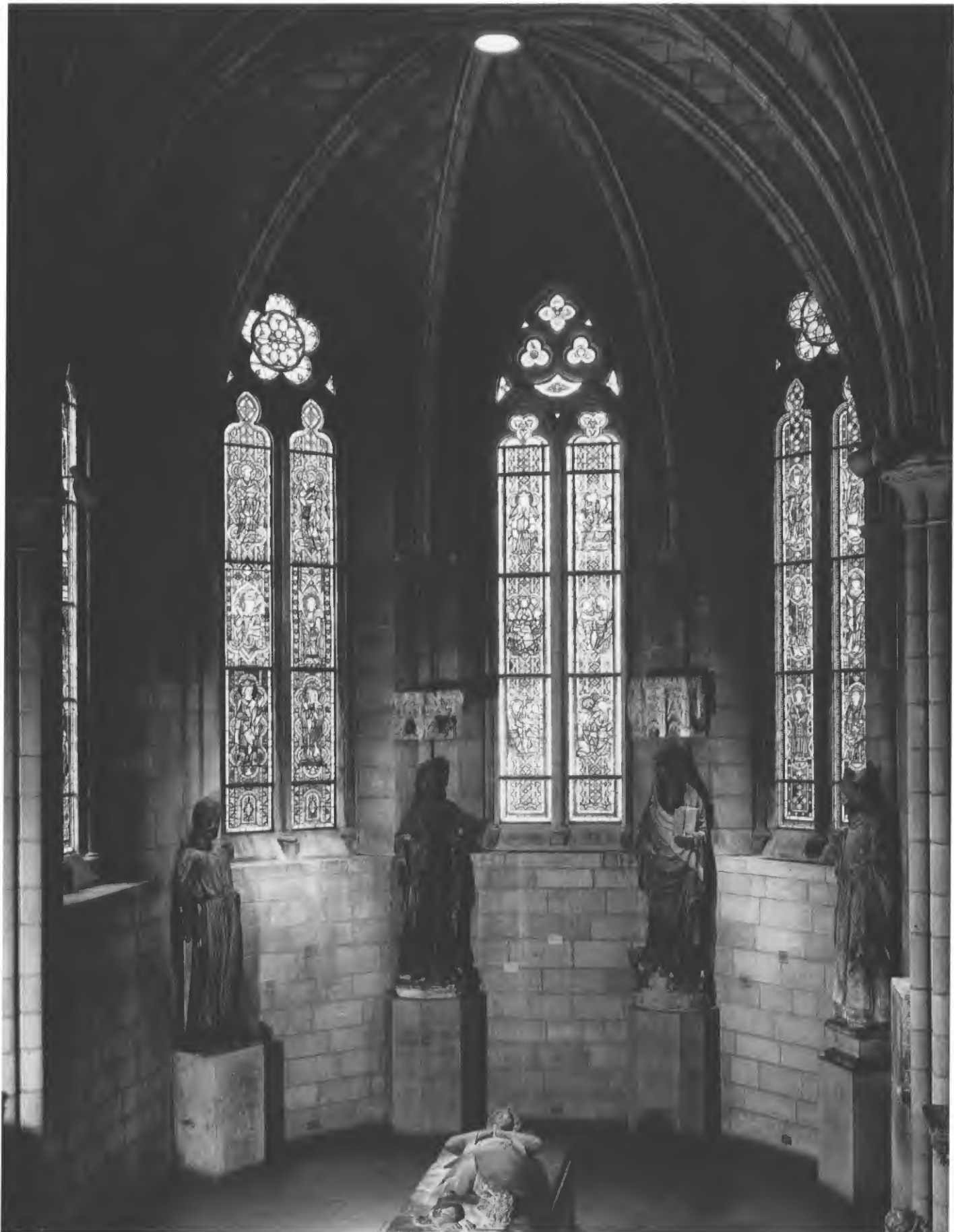
Plate 33. Composite Window with Late Medieval English Glass, c. 1425-1565. Window condition, post-restoration (Nos. 100-108)



Plates 34–37 *Standing Apostles* (Saints Andrew, Peter, James the Great, and Philip). England, Gloucestershire (?), c.1475–80 (Nos. 100–103)



Plate 38. *The Archangel Michael with a Donor.*
France, Paris (?), c.1500 (No. 116)



15. The Gothic Chapel at The Cloisters following Jane Hayward's reinstallations

grisaille in forming a truly representative collection of medieval stained glass. Working with the Swiss dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler (1919–1996), who became her close friend, Hayward went on to acquire thirteenth-century grisaille panels from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges (Nos. 41–46) and fourteenth-century examples from the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (Nos. 64 and 65), which had also been part of the Acézat collection. The grisaille panels from Saint-Ouen (1320–30; Nos. 66 and 68–70) formed the capstone of her efforts to expand the Museum’s repertoire of stained-glass ornament. Widely recognized as “one of the most knowledgeable dealers in early stained glass panels in Europe or America,”¹¹⁴ Kummer-Rothenhäusler, through her long-standing collaboration with Hayward, helped procure select examples of colored ornament as well, including one of Hayward’s last acquisitions, the zigzag border from the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine or the Cathedral of Soissons (c.1200/1205–23; No. 14).

Hand in hand with collecting went a commitment to education. The exhibition “Stained Glass Windows of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance” (held in 1972–73 and hailed as “an amazingly rich show”) included seventy-five panels drawn exclusively from the Museum’s holdings.¹¹⁵ Not only did it represent the first such display of stained glass in North America, but it also included didactic films on “the technique of making stained glass . . . [and] the history of stained glass through the ages” as well as an accompanying *Museum Bulletin*, which for many years was the most accessible survey of medieval glass painting in published in English.¹¹⁶ The



16. Head of a Bearded Man, France, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Seven Sleepers Window, c.1200–03. Pot-metal glass with vitreous paint. Gift of Shirley Prager Branner, 1991 (1991.472)

effect of this presentation was to put the Museum’s collection of stained glass on the map; reviewers acknowledged it already as “among the largest in the world,” establishing The Cloisters as a leading site for the study of medieval European stained glass.¹¹⁷

This fresh appreciation for stained glass as an art form facilitated the collection’s expansion in numerous ways. Fragments, such as the head of a bearded man from the Cathedral of Rouen (text ill. 16), were welcomed.¹¹⁸ Among the most significant of these elements to enter the collection – garnered largely through the efforts of curator Carmen Gómez-Moreno – was a substantial group given to the Museum in 1977 by Mrs. Ella Brummer in memory of her husband, the dealer Ernest Brummer (1891–1964). Donated in conjunction with the censuring angels attributed to the Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne at Troyes (No. 4), this sizeable lot included heads, sections of drapery (text ill. 17), plus portions of fragments of rinceaux and inscriptions (text ill. 18) also purchased by Brummer from the dealer André Lion and similarly linked to Troyes.¹¹⁹

It was in the area of figural stained glass, however, that Hayward and her student and colleague Timothy B. Husband made their most significant contribution to molding the collection of stained glass at the Metropolitan. In addition to the Austrian windows from St. Leonhard and Ebreichsdorf, superb French panels from the first half of the thirteenth century from the Cathedral of Rouen (No. 11), the Cathedral of Soissons (Nos. 12 and 13), and the Great Chapel of the Virgin from Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Nos. 39 and 40) were acquired. Building on early



17. Fragments of drapery, France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c. 1170. Pot-metal glass with vitreous paint. Gift of Ella Brummer, in memory of her husband, Ernest Brummer, 1977. (1977.346.8, 10-11, 13, 20, 33, 11, 46)



18. Fragments of rinceaux and inscriptions, France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c.1170. Pot-metal glass with vitreous paint. Gift of Ella Brummer, in memory of her husband, Ernest Brummer, 1977. (1977.346.15, 21, 31, 36-40, 42-45, 48)



19. Old Testament King, Germany, Saxony or Thuringa (possibly Wurzen), c.1260–70. Pot-metal glass with vitreous paint. The Cloisters Collection, 200 (2000.406)

foundations, the purchase of Germanic glass received a new impetus, complementing the development of other areas of the medieval collection under the leadership of former department chairman William D. Wixom. Ranging from the *Annunciation* (1290–1300) from the Convent Church at Altenberg-an-der-Lahn to the *Madonna of the Apocalypse* attributed to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (1480–90) to a small, exquisite *Adoration of the Magi* from Cologne (c.1515–20), the tremendous breadth of medieval German glass painting has been energetically addressed.¹²⁰ With the support of Wixom and his successor, Peter Barnet, Husband has continued to pursue this mandate, acquiring an *Adoration of the Magi* (1507) from Munich, a *Mater Dolorosa*

(c. 1480) attributed to the Lautenbach Master from the library of the Cathedral of Constance, and the Arms of Kaspar von Hohenlandenberg (1500–05) – the single medieval Swiss panel in the Museum’s collection, purchased through a bequest of and in tribute to Jane Hayward.¹²¹

The current emphasis on German glass not only builds upon initial strengths of the Department’s holdings but also signals an important shift away from certain American predilections toward regarding French production as a defining standard for medieval art. The recent acquisition of a Jesse Tree king from Saxony or Thuringia (c. 1260–70; text ill. 19) testifies to this trend.¹²² The Metropolitan’s nearly three hundred panels of stained glass, “documenting all of the major northern European schools,”¹²³ can now claim to be an intrinsic part of the Museum’s superb collection of medieval art, more than eloquently fulfilling the comprehensive scope prematurely professed in the 1899 Museum guidebook.

NOTES

1. Hoeber 1899, pp. 8 and 9.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
3. *BMMA* 1906b, p. 136, and *BMMA* 1906a, p. 115. The reception for this window was not universally warm; it was, in fact, singled out as "an object lesson of what glass should not be: while precise and academic in drawing, it is as thin and uninteresting as a weakly colored drawing on tissue paper"; Lauber 1912, p. 151. For additional information on Oudinot, see Nos. 28–40, n. 36.
4. Humphreys 1881, p. 14.
5. Heinigke 1902, p. 180.
6. 16.153.1; Yarnall 1994, pp. 92–95, and Milliken 1917, p. 10. The lunette was presented to the Museum by Otto Heinigke's widow.
7. 25.173; Breck 1925b, p. 287; Frelinghuysen 1998, pp. 42–43; and Frelinghuysen 2000, p. 194.
8. *BMMA* 1906b, p. 136.
9. New York 1986–87, p. 188. For the popularity of stained-glass windows in domestic settings in the late nineteenth century, see Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "A New Renaissance: Stained Glass in the Aesthetic Period," and Marilyn Johnson, "The Artful Interior," in *ibid.*, pp. 176–97 and 110–41, respectively.
10. *Art News* 1929, p. 9. An influential scholar of Rococo as well as American Colonial and Federal architecture, Kimball (1888–1955) also served as director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art from 1925 until several months before his death.
The Merson/Oudinot window (06.292a–c) was made for the apartment of Isaac Bell in the Knickerbocker Building at Fifth Avenue and Twenty-eighth Street in New York (Kisluk-Grosheide 1994, p. 176). The lunette by La Farge was destined for the Cornelius Vanderbilt II house in New York but was never installed (Yarnall 1994, pp. 94–95, and Milliken 1917, pp. 9–10). *Autumn Landscape* by Tiffany was created for the Gothic-style manor house of L. D. Towle in Boston, Massachusetts, but was apparently purchased by de Forest after Towle died in bankruptcy (see Frelinghuysen 1998, p. 42, and Frelinghuysen 2000, p. 194).
11. Duncan 1995, p. 65.
12. Valentiner 1908a, p. 92.
13. These included "one casement" of Gothic stained glass (*BMMA* 1906c, p. 137); two standing figures of St. Maximine and St. John the Evangelist, c.1520 (CV *Checklist* I, pp. 142–43, and Valentiner 1908a, pp. 92–93); an elliptical panel showing Daniel, Job, and Noah, thought to be English, thirteenth century; and a seated bishop believed to be German, fourteenth century (Friedley 1912, pp. 212–13).
14. *Ibid.*, p. 212.
15. For overviews of the history of collecting stained glass, see Mary B. Shepard, "Stained Glass: Collections, Museums and Exhibitions," in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 29, pp. 514–17, and Caviness 1994, pp. 976–91.
16. For Henry Vaughan, see Shepard 1990, p. 57, and Rackham 1936, p. v. For the glass at Costessey, see Shepard 1995; for Ashridge, see *ibid.*, p. 205 n. 24, as well as the summary and bibliography in Wainwright 1989, pp. 67 and 300 n. 71; for Wörlitz, see summary and further bibliography by Claudia Schumacher in Cologne 1998, pp. 336–37.
17. Heinigke 1902, p. 182. Heinigke's ethical concern about acquiring medieval glass removed from its original context was not readily shared among American collectors of the day; it points, rather, toward his own work as a glass painter who personally understood the inexorable bond between building and window.
18. Drake 1912, pp. 171–72.
19. As a young man, Morgan collected fragments of stained glass, gleaning broken segments from underneath European church windows. These pieces, together with intact panels he acquired much later, were eventually glazed into the windows of the West Room study at Morgan's

- private library on East Thirty-sixth Street in Manhattan (see Satterlee 1939, pp. 145–46, and Strouse 1999, p. 507). This collection of stained glass will be addressed by Helen Zakin in CV US II, forthcoming. Following Morgan's death in 1913, his son J. Pierpont, Jr. (1867–1943) exhibited the full scope of his father's collection at the Metropolitan, with the exception of artworks already housed at the library. While certain of Morgan's collections, such as his Chinese porcelains, Renaissance bronzes, and the suite of paintings – *The Progress of Love* (1771) – by Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806), were subsequently sold, Jack Morgan donated his father's unparalleled collection of medieval enamels, ivories, sculptures, and metalwork to the Metropolitan (see William D. Wixom, "Morgan – The Man and the Collector," in Brown et al. 2000, p. 6; Strouse 2000, pp. 57–59; Strouse 1999, pp. 287–88; University Park 1996, p. 115; and Forbes 1981, pp. 80–81). In 1919 Morgan's son presented over fifty panels of stained glass to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London "in memory of Anglo-American co-operation in arms" (Eric Madagan in Rackham 1936, p. v). I am indebted to Timothy Husband for his clarification of Morgan's gift of stained glass to the Victoria and Albert.
20. Hoentschel (1855–1915), who maintained an architecture and interior decorating business in Paris, offered period interiors to his clients; see Hoentschel et al. 1999. For the sale to the Morgan, see Robinson 1907, pp. 94–98; Valentiner 1908b, pp. 129–33; University Park 1996, p. 120; and Strouse 2000, pp. 36 and 39.
 21. The roundels (16.32.118 and 119) have been associated with a glass painter known as the Master of the Life of St. John the Baptist, who worked in Normandy and Paris about 1500–1510. They are part of the collection of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts and will appear in the *Corpus Vitrearum* volume projected to cover that material (dating roughly from 1500 to 1700). For the Master of the Life of St. John the Baptist, see No. 117, under *Style and Date*. For the roundels, see CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 133, and Hérold 1999b, p. 474.
 22. Lauber 1912, pp. 141 and 140, respectively.
 23. Panels of stained glass, including Swiss works with the Arms of the Canton of Uri (1542; 14.40.736) and the Arms of Jodokus Cysat (1692; 14.40.735) represented a negligible part of the vast art holdings of department-store magnate Benjamin Altman. Listed at the very end of the Museum's handbook of the collection, the stained glass was catalogued under "Miscellaneous Objects" and was exhibited in one of the gallery's "glass doors"; see CV US, *Checklist* I, pp. 157 and 174, and *Altman Collection* 1914, p. 153. The Widener collection included the Renaissance stained-glass diptych of the *Annunciation* (c.1500) from Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi in Florence, Italy (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); see CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 34.
 24. See University Park 1996, pp. 50–51; CV US, *Checklist* I, pp. 14–15; and Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, pp. 7–26. Mrs. Gardner bought the lancet on the advice Henry Adams (1838–1918), author of the acclaimed study *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres* (first published in 1904). Adams, who saw the window at the dealer Bacri Frères in Paris, believed it to illustrate scenes from the life of Saint Denis or Dagobert I; see Scheyer 1970, p. 58. Other late medieval glass acquired by Gardner is catalogued in CV US, *Checklist* I, pp. 41–44.
 25. See Johnston 1999, p. 191; Caviness 1990b, p. 346; and CV US, *Checklist* II, pp. 56–57. The St. Vincent series from Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris (c.1245–47) was acquired by Walters in 1918; see Shepard 1990, pp. 265–69. For late medieval glass purchased by Walters, see CV US, *Checklist* II, pp. 62–69. Future research on the stained glass in the Walters Art Museum will better illuminate the context and time frame for Walters's purchases. To a certain extent, this work has been hindered by Walters's own vague record-keeping, even to the point of his expunging the prices listed on those few

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- invoices he retained. Like George Blumenthal, Walters's fellow trustee at the Metropolitan Museum and eventual president of the Museum. Walters believed the amount paid for works of art to be private information; what mattered for posterity was the public's access to the works of art themselves; see Johnson 1999, p. 137. For Blumenthal's attitude, see Nos. 114 and 115, n. 1.
26. See *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* 1891–1984, vol. 17 (1927), p. 46; Lawrence's obituary in the *New York Times*, 15 September 1919, p. 11; and Nos. 12 and 13, n. 1. See also n. 73.
 27. As opposed to the phenomenon discussed in Duncan 1995, p. 65.
 28. Weil 1998, pp. 47–49. See also Cook 1881, pp. 46–47, and Frye 1906, pp. 58–60.
 29. Strouse 2000 pp. 39–40; Strouse 1999, pp. 606–7; Sterne 1980, pp. 86–87; *BMA* 1908, p. 14; and Robinson 1907, p. 98.
 30. Heinigke 1902, p. 182, and Lauber 1912, p. 151.
 31. 11.120.1 and 2: CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 128; Husband 1998, pp. 178–85; and Husband in Los Angeles-St. Louis 2000, pp. 71–74. 12.216: CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 140. 12.120.1: Text ill. 4 and see Nos. 80–85, 96, 97–99, 100–108, 122 and 123. 13.64.1–4: CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 120. 13.64.10: No. 61. 14.47a–c: Nos. 9 and 10. The English Heraldic Shield blazoned with the arms of Hugh de Vere (No. 63) and a tracery light with a prophet, ascribed to Germany (12.137.12; CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 136), were also purchased in 1912.
 32. The lyrical *Annunciation* from the Church of Sainte-Foy at Conches (1552; 07.287.12 and 13) was bought from the Stanford White estate a month prior to Valentiner's appointment; see CV US, *Checklist* I, pp. 158–59. Discussions of stained-glass acquisitions in the Museum *Bulletin* during this period begin to broach the notion of how stylistic qualities fit into a broader chronological framework; see, for example, Friedley 1913b, p. 139; Friedley 1913a, p. 47; Friedley 1912, p. 212; Valentiner 1908a, pp. 92–92.
 33. See Sterne 1980, pp. 75, 96, and 105.
 34. Joan R. Mertens, "The Boscovale Bedroom," in Peck et al. 1996, pp. 16–23, and Wolfram Koeppe, "The Swiss Room," in *ibid.*, pp. 58–67. For a survey of the developing phenomenon of period-room installation, particularly in American museums, see Pilgrim 1978, pp. 5–14, and for a broad discussion of period rooms at the Metropolitan, see Philippe de Montebello's introduction in Peck et al. 1996, pp. 9–13.
 35. Quoted in Sterne 1980, p. 97; see also *ibid.*, pp. 93–94. Valentiner's installation of the Hoentschel Collection of Gothic art was located on the first floor of the newly built Wing F, opened in 1910; see Heckscher 1995, pp. 48–49.
 36. William R. Valentiner in Robinson et al. 1910, p. 16.
 37. "Un air de mysticité"; "magie par laquelle on maintenant perpétuellement dans un état de faiblesse, des êtres que la superstition avait frappés d'effroi"; Lenoir [1799–1800], pp. 377 and 139, respectively.
 38. *BMA* 1921b, p. 233.
 39. *MMA Guide* 1922, p. 40; Breck 1924, p. 232; and *BMA* 1921b, p. 233, respectively.
 40. Friedley 1913a, p. 47, and *MMA Guide* 1922, pp. 41–42.
 41. Dean had collected arms and armor since childhood. His notable collection of Japanese armor was exhibited at the Metropolitan in 1903. See Tomkins 1973, pp. 149 and 151, and von Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, pp. 24–28. The most comprehensive biographical discussions of Dean are found in von Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933 (for Dean as a historian and collector of arms and armor) and William K. Gregory, "Memorial to Bashford Dean," in Gudger et al. 1930–42 (for Dean's career as a scientist); see also the more anecdotal information contained in Boorman 1994 and Dean 1994. I am grateful to Donald LaRocca and Catha Grace Rambusch for the latter three references.
 42. Tomkins 1973, pp. 152–53; von Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, p. 34; "Bashford Dean" 1929, pp. 5–6; and *BMA* 1907, p. 54. The memorial tablet created by Daniel Chester French (1850–1931) in honor of Dean reads, in part, "Honorary Curator of Arms and Armor in 1906 / Curator of Arms and Armor 1912 / Trustee 1927"; LaRocca 1996, pp. 151–57, esp. p. 156.
 43. Bashford Dean, Travel Diaries, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Arms and Armor, departmental files.
 44. Morgan and Riggs were old school friends, a relationship that helped Dean woo Riggs; see Tomkins 1973, pp. 154–64; Dean 1925, pp. 288–89; Dean 1924, pp. 300–307; and Dean 1914, pp. 66 and 67.
 45. Dean 1925, p. 288, and Dean 1924, p. 302. For the panels, see CV US *Checklist* I, pp. 159–60, 168–69, and 172–74.
 46. Such "collateral documents" were perceived as providing "what every armory needs – an historical setting, a pleasing variety, the warmth of a dash of color"; von Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, p. 47, and Grancsay 1930, p. 86.
 47. American Art Galleries Sale 1923, n.p.
 48. Von Kienbusch 1977, pp. 5–6, and von Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, p. 1.
 49. A photograph of Kienbusch's Armory is reproduced in von Kienbusch 1977, p. 2. For Abbotsford, see Wainwright 1989, pp. 147–78, esp. p. 171; for Schloss Erbach, see Hess 1997, pp. 2–6, and Schumacher in Cologne 1998, pp. 338–39.
 50. Shannon 1927, p. 183. See also color ill. in Goldfarb 1995, pp. 136–37.
 51. Hewlett 1917, p. 161.
 52. *Ibid.*
 53. *Ibid.*
 54. Nos. 114 and 115 were installed on the balcony of the Spanish patio from Vélez Blanco (1506–15), later given to the Museum as part of Blumenthal's bequest in 1941; see Olga Raggio, "The Vélez Blanco Patio," in Peck et al. 1996, pp. 49–51. Old stained glass was used throughout the house, including the dining room, library, and drawing room; see Taylor 1941, pp. 195–98. Although Blumenthal made brilliant purchases of medieval art, from the Ottonian ivory of *Christ Enthroned with Saints and Emperor Otto I* (962–73; 41.100.157) to the marble effigy bust of Marie de France (c.1371–82; 41.100.132), the lion's share of stained glass acquired for his home was sixteenth and seventeenth century in date. Those panels purportedly from the thirteenth century were recognized even in Blumenthal's lifetime to be "not in [their] original form"; Rubinstein-Bloch 1926–30, vol. 3, pl. 47. Of Blumenthal's "medieval glass," only Nos. 114 and 115 were not deaccessioned after the collection came to the Metropolitan as part of Blumenthal's bequest. For an overview of Blumenthal's holdings of stained glass, see *ibid.*, pls. 47–58. See also the terms of Blumenthal's bequest published in the *New York Times*, 12 July 1941, p. 28.
 55. Seligman 1961, pp. 142–43.
 56. Even as early as 1885 heraldic glass was especially recommended for library windows, "being connected with ancient history"; Riordon 1885, p. 131.
 57. Elizabeth Bradford Smith suggests that by the first years of the nineteenth century the Philadelphian William Poyntell (1756–1811) thought to install the three panels from the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris he purchased in 1803 in the windows of his library, "following the fashion set by Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill"; see Smith 1997, pp. 207–8, and University Park 1996, p. 24. For Poyntell's Sainte-Chapelle panels, see CV US, *Checklist* II, pp. 148–49. For Tuxedo, New York, see, for example, the house of T. Harleston Deacon featured in *Architectural Record* 1905, pp. 280 and 282. For a Long Island mansion with a dining room decorated by Charles of London, see William R. Coe's estate, Coe Hall, in Randall 1987, p. 80, and Linda Papanicolaou in CV US II, forthcoming. For Charles of London, see Behrman 1952, p. 71; Duveen 1957, pp. 112–15 and 215; and his obituary in the *New York Times*, 22 July 1940, p. 17, which lists many of his prominent clients. Indeed, the use of stained glass in domestic windows to achieve a "medieval look" has retained a certain popularity. The living room of fashion designer Oleg Cassini, with its huge

- Decorated-style window adorned with heraldic panels, was recently singled out as withstanding the "fickle winds of decorating taste"; see Riegler 1999, p. 100.
58. Bottomley 1914, p. 570, and *Country Life* 1914, p. 39.
 59. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 38, and 39.
 60. See No. 79 and CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 168. At some point Pratt also purchased three fifteenth-century English prophets (now in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond; see discussion of the St. Leonhard glass below) that were offered in the Thomas sale of 1913; see CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 193. For Thomas, see "Grosvenor Thomas 1924–26," pp. 29–31, and Wayment 1988, p. 25.
 61. For Pratt's stained glass previously installed at Costessey, see No. 92; CV US, *Checklist I*, pp. 116, 126–27, and 138–39; and CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 195. See also Shepard 1995, pp. 200 and 202. Nos. 90 and 91, 93, 94 and 95, 110–113, as well as four panels with scenes from the Garden of Eden (CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 194), were all sold to Pratt by Grosvenor or Roy Grosvenor Thomas. Pratt was likely acquainted with the elder Thomas even prior to the 1913 New York sale, either from business dealings in London or through the Museum, to whom Thomas had sold the large composite window of English glass in 1912.
 62. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Arms and Armor, departmental files.
 63. *MMA Annual Report* 1942, p. 18.
 64. American Art Galleries Sale 1923, n.p.
 65. See, for example, von Kienbusch 1977, p. 8, and American Art Galleries Sale 1923, lot 124 (this panel depicting the *Assumption of the Virgin* was not sold and remained in Dean's collection; Marilyn Beaven has noted that it was sold in 1950 among the residue of Dean's estate, Parke-Bernet Sale 1950, lot 173). See also von Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, p. 32.
 66. 23.229.2–7, totaling 109 pieces. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, departmental files quoting American Art Galleries Sale 1923, lot 107. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, assembling such didactic panels became a long-standing practice among collectors. See, for example, the textile samples and stained-glass fragments prepared by the great German collector of liturgical art Alexander Schnütgen (1843–1918), in Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts 2000, pp. 158–59, and Cologne 1998, pp. 344–45, respectively.
 67. For the fragments from Montfort, see Brill 1999, vol. 1, p. 114, and vol. 2, pp. 245–46, and Dean 1927, pp. 40–43. They are currently the subject of a study by Lisa Pilosi, David Whitehouse, and Mark Wypyski.
 68. *Ibid.*, p. 42. The fragments likely date to the 1240s–50s, from the era Dean called "the great period of the castle." The fortification was put under siege in 1266 and fell in 1271; see *ibid.*, p. 8. For the panel now at Princeton University, see CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 75.
 69. This wide-ranging group of pieces included some complete works, such as the roundel with the kneeling figure of Mary Magdalene (after Albrecht Dürer, Germany, 1500–1510; CV US, *Checklist IV*, p. 137) and the lion-head ornament (France, 1475–1500; CV US, *Checklist IV*, p. 129). Pratt's purchase in 1930 was one of a number orchestrated by Dean's friends and colleagues to settle Dean's extensive estate. See von Kienbusch and Grancsay 1933, pp. 42–43, and de Forest 1929, p. 315.
 70. Louis Grodecki, the first scholar to publish the Bourges heads, noted that these pieces were in storage at the cathedral in 1920, where they had been placed following the restorations of 1848, but that they had disappeared by 1921. The heads are painted in the styles of the *Good Samaritan*, *Last Judgment*, *Relics of St. Stephen*, and *New Alliance* windows (Grodecki 1975c, pp. 351 n. 29 and 359; see also Hayward 1971–72, p. 105). An additional group of "fragments of early church-window glass," including additional heads from Bourges (see Grodecki 1975c, p. 358), was purchased in 1930 from Dean's estate by von Kienbusch for Princeton University (his alma mater) to be used in "class-room instruction." Letter from C. O. von Kienbusch to Frank Jewett Mather, 14 May 1930, Princeton University Art Museum, museum files.
 71. Their quality was evident to the glazier and dealer Michel Acézat, who hoped to be paid with these fragments for appraising Dean's stained-glass collection. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Arms and Armor, departmental files.
 72. Letter from George D. Pratt to Joseph Breck, 13 October 1926, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files. The deep mutual respect between the philanthropist and the curator is evidenced by Pratt's service as an honorary pallbearer at Dean's funeral on 10 December 1928 in St. Paul's Chapel at Columbia University in New York; *New York Times*, 11 December 1928, p. 33.
 73. Records do not readily reveal why the Metropolitan did not make any acquisitions of medieval glass from the Lawrence sale. However, Lawrence's daughters did present the Museum with two early sixteenth-century panels from Louvain (21.27.1 and 2); see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 141. Regarding the effects of the Lawrence sale, see University Park 1996, pp. 186–87, and New York 1982, p. 38.
 74. The December 1926 issue of the Museum's *Bulletin* described Pratt's gift of six stained-glass panels as installed "in the lunette above the south door of the Room of Recent Accessions . . . [reflecting] though in miniature . . . the glories of the Middle Ages"; *BMAA* 1926b, p. 294.
 75. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files.
 76. Letters from George D. Pratt to Joseph Breck, 2 May 1924 and 29 September 1924, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files.
 77. There is no support for the supposition that Pratt "was as fond of his twelfth-century border from Saint-Denis as he was of his sixteenth-century Flemish panel *Christ Raising Jairus' Daughter*." (Jane Hayward and Madeline Caviness in CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 16), particularly as Pratt never retained early Gothic stained glass for his personal collection.
 78. Letter from George D. Pratt to Joseph Breck, 2 May 1924. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files.
 79. Letter from George D. Pratt to Joseph Breck, 29 September 1924. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files.
 80. Breck 1926a, p. 4.
 81. Forsyth 1992, pp. 51–52, and Schrader 1979, pp. 12–14.
 82. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 6.
 83. Breck 1926a, p. 4.
 84. Schrader 1979, p. 3.
 85. *St. George and the Dragon* (25.120.421; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 129). For illustrations of the installation of the "Sacristy," see Breck 1926a, fig. 13; for the "Nave," see Schrader 1979, fig. 3.
 86. Breck 1926b, p. 114; see also Breck 1925a, p. 177.
 87. Illustrated in Schrader 1979, fig. 4.
 88. Breck 1927, p. 158.
 89. See Bach 1927, p. 310: "It is the cultivation of [the general] public interest that is now the chief effort and duty of museums of art."
 90. *Ibid.*
 91. Shannon 1927, pp. 174–75.
 92. George Blumenthal, quoting John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in Blumenthal et al. 1938, p. 13, and Leuchak 1988, p. 272, respectively.
 93. Katherine S. Rorimer in Rorimer 1972, p. 8.
 94. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in Blumenthal et al. 1938, p. 25.
 95. Memorandum dated 6 March 1935 summarizing conversation between Museum Director Herbert Winlock and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Herbert Winlock, 29 December 1933, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives.
 96. The rarity of a museum harnessing natural light for the illumination of stained glass was underscored as early as 1921 in a Museum *Bulletin* article, and later in an essay first published by the *New York Times*, detailing the difficulties of exhibiting stained glass in the more

INTRODUCTION

- conventional surroundings of the Fifth Avenue building; see *BMA* 1921b, p. 233, and Cary 1932, p. 338, respectively.
97. Letter from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., to Robert de Forest, 28 February 1930, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives. Rockefeller's participation in the acquisition of stained glass was considerably more than financial; he actively sought panels for the new building. In one instance, a window he proposed for consideration was rejected on the grounds that "The Cloisters Collection is uniformly Romanesque and Gothic, and it seems to us that it would be inadvisable to change its character. The window is fully and frankly Renaissance, and as such would not combine well with the Cloisters Building or with the Collection as it is now constituted." Letter from Herbert E. Winlock to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 17 February 1934, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives.
 98. Letter from James Rorimer to Hebert Winlock, 6 April 1936, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files.
 99. For the Austrian panels (30.113.1-4 and 30.133), see CV US, *Checklist I*, pp. 112 and 114. For the current installation of the *Paschal Lamb*, see New York 1999, p. 158. This group of purchases also included the heraldic panels of Barbara von Zimmern and her husband, Wilhelm von Weitingen (Germany, 1518; 30.113.5 and 6); see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 142.
 100. Letter from Joseph Breck to Edward Robinson, 5 March 1930, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives. Timothy Husband reinstalled the Glass Gallery in 1997, with – at present – thirty-seven silver-stained roundels systematically acquired since 1970, replacing "mediocre and suspect examples" from the original Thomas purchase; Wixom in New York 1999, p. 7.
 101. Germany, Upper Rhineland, 1480-90 (32.241.1-8); see CV US, *Checklist IV*, pp. 130-31. Their installation prior to 1997 is illustrated in Husband, Little, and Shepard 1987, p. 154.
 102. A slightly different instance is the addition of two lancet openings to the original four on the southeast wall of the main level to accommodate the six standing saints from Boppard am Rhein. For the Boppard saints, see CV US, *Checklist I*, pp. 118-19, and the color illustration in Husband, Little, and Shepard 1987, pp. 140-42. Regarding their installation, see Leuchak 1988, pp. 273-75.
 103. Letter from James J. Rorimer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 27 October 1936, and letter from James J. Rorimer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 3 September 1936, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives.
 104. Also included were two mid-fourteenth-century grisaille roundels from Germany or Austria (35.82.3 and 4); see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 113.
 105. Letter from Herbert Winlock to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 18 February 1936, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives. For the stained glass (36.39.1 and 2), see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 113. Additional figural panels from the Ebreichsdorf Infancy and Passion cycle were acquired in 1986. See also n. 112 below.
 106. Letter from James J. Rorimer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 27 October 1936, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives.
 107. Letter from James J. Rorimer to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., 9 December 1936, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives. For the heraldic panels (37.147.1-5), see CV US, *Checklist I*, pp. 186-87.
 108. See Olga Raggio in New York 1975-76, p. 5.
 109. Memorandum from Jane Hayward to William D. Wixom, 15 April 1980, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, departmental files. For the roundels (1980.214.1-5), see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 135. For their installation in the Campin Room, see Wixom in New York 1999, p. 6, and Mary Shepard, "The Campin Room," in Peck et al. 1996, pp. 32-39.
 110. CV US, *Checklist I*, pp. 108-112. See also Bacher 1998, pp. 135-41, and Ernst Bacher, "Ordnungsgemässer Kunst-Ankauf," *Die Presse*, 14 February 1998. For the Metropolitan panels now in Virginia, see CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 193-96.
 111. See Bacher 1998, pp. 138-39, and Timothy Husband in "Remembrances of Jane Hayward," *Gesta*, 37 (1998), p. 129 and color pl. 8. The firm of Petrillo Stone Corporation, the original masons contracted to build The Cloisters, carved the newly designed stonework. John Nussbaum painted the modern glass fill, and Greenland Studios installed the glass.
 112. See CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 36-38, and Timothy Husband in Carboni et al. 2001, pp. 37-38. To complete the ensemble, the Museum purchased two panels with a canopy (CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 25) from the collection of George Douglass, Jr., in Greenwich, Connecticut; see New York 1999, pp. 158-60.
 113. "Permettez-moi de vous dire combien je me suis réjoui de vous avoir vu acquérir trois des meilleurs lots de la collection Acézat. Il est bon que ces morceaux soient exposés et mis en valeur dans votre admirable musée des Cloîtres . . . nous vous reprochons amicalement de n'être pas venue dîner avec nous lors du séjour (d'ailleurs *incognito*) que vous venez de faire à Paris." Letter from Jean Lafond to Jane Hayward, 8 December 1969; see also remembrances of Jane Hayward by Sybill Kummer-Rothenhäusler, December 1994. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, departmental files and archives, respectively.
 114. Wigley 1998, p. 81.
 115. Werner 1972, p. 164.
 116. *Ibid.*, and Hayward 1971-72.
 117. Sherrill 1972, p. 432, as well as Deuchler 1969, pp. 140-46, and the remembrances of Hayward by Jean Taralon and William D. Wixom in *Gesta* 37 (1998), pp. 128-30.
 118. Michael W. Cothren has recently identified the head (1991.472) as originating from Rouen cathedral's Seven Sleepers window; see also No. 11 and New York 1999, p. 100. Other fragments that entered the collection during Hayward's tenure include additional heads, such as those given by John Feldman (1994.518.1 and 2; New York 1999, pp. 140-41), and foliate ornament, such as the pieces presented by Shirley Prager Branner (1985.91.8; *ibid.*, p. 129) and Mrs. Charles C. Huber (1984.239.1; *ibid.*, p. 217). This tradition continues with the recent donation of a group of fragments, primarily French in origin, by James R. Johnson.
 119. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Joseph and Ernst Brummer Records, Cloisters Archives, nos. P14100 and P1407, 22 September 1937.
 120. For the Altenburg *Annunciation* (1993.251.1 and 2), see New York 1999, pp. 124-25; for the *Madonna of the Apocalypse* (1982.47.1), see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 127; for the Cologne *Adoration of the Magi* (1982.47.2), see CV US, *Checklist IV*, p. 150.
 121. For the Munich *Adoration of the Magi* (1996.262), see New York 1999, pp. 220-21; for the *Mater Dolorosa* (1998.215b), see *ibid.*, pp. 190-91, and Los Angeles - St. Louis 2000, pp. 76-77; for the von Hohenlandenberg Arms (2000.135), see Husband 2000, pp. 20-21.
 122. 2000.406; see Husband 2001, p. 18. A *Circumcision* from Cologne (1460-70) once installed in the Chapel at Costessey (Drake 1920, No. 17), was acquired in late 2002.
 123. Husband in Carboni et al. 2001, p. 33.

Note to the Reader

THE POSTHUMOUS PREPARATION of Jane Hayward's manuscript has resulted in a number of anomalous editorial practices. In general, Jane's discursive notes have been retained rather than adapted to the in-text citations used in other volumes of the US Corpus Vitrearum. Text or notes framed by brackets ([]) indicate additions made or information updated by the editors. Because window-bay numbering systems were inconsistently used throughout the original manuscript, the editors adopted published bay numbers from relevant Corpus Vitrearum volumes, in this case respective systems used by the French or British national committees of the Corpus Vitrearum. Catalogue entries that refer to sites not yet published in the French *Recensement* series rely on previously published floor plans, with their own idiosyncratic numbering systems. Jane Hayward and Marie-Pascale Foucault-Phipps were responsible for a preponderance of the restoration charts; unfinished charts were completed or amended by Mary Shepard (see Nos. 11, 14, 57–58, 88–89, 92, 94–95, and 114–115) and produced by Anandaroop Roy. Similarly, incomplete heraldic blazons were edited or revised by Robert Theo Margelony of the Medieval Department staff. Unless otherwise noted, all photographs are the property of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR SITES

ACM	Amherst College, Mead Art Museum, Amherst, Mass.
AIC	Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
AKB	Albright-Knox Gallery, Buffalo, N.Y.
ASU	Arizona State University Art Collections, Tempe, Ariz.
BJU	Bob Jones University Collection of Sacred Art, Greenville, S.C.
BMA	Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Md.
BMFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.
BNY	The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N.Y.
CAM	Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio
C-CAM & C-CEC	Cranbrook Art Museum and Cranbrook Educational Community, Bloomfield Hills, Mich.
CCC	Christ Church, Episcopal, Corning, N.Y.
CCSP	Cathedral Church of St. Paul, Detroit, Mich.
CGA	The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
CHM	Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution, New York, N.Y.
CIP	Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, Pa.
CMA	The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio
CMG	The Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, N.Y.
CVUS	Corpus Vitrearum United States
DAM	The Denver Art Museum, Denver, Colo.
DIA	Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich.
DO	Dumbarton Oaks Research Library & Collection, Washington, D.C.
DUMA	Duke University Museum of Art, Durham, N.C.
EEFH	Edsel & Eleanor Ford House, Grosse Pointe Shores, Mich.
EMAS	Evansville Museum of Arts & Science, Evansville Ind.
FLMP	Forest Lawn Museum, Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Glendale, Calif.
GM	Glencairn Museum: The Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pa.
GMB	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Mass.
HAW	Higgins Armory Museum, Worcester, Mass.
HCGF	Hyde Collection, Glens Falls, N.Y.
HFNS	Frontier Nursing Service, Hyden, Ky.


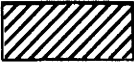







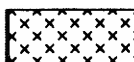
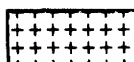


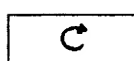
NOTE TO THE READER

HMBR	Harvard University Art Museums, the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
HMF	Harvard University Art Museums, the William Hays Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass.
IC	Ithaca College, Gannett Center, Ithaca, N.Y.
IUAM	Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington, Ind.
LACMA	Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, Calif.
LAM	Lyman Allen Museum, New London, Conn.
MAGR	Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
MDGA	Loyola University of Chicago, Martin D'Arcy Gallery of Art, Chicago, Ill.
MKM	Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum, San Antonio, Tex.
MIA	The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Minn.
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Mass.
ML	The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, N.Y.
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N.Y.
MMA-CC	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, New York, N.Y.
NA	The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Mo.
NCMA	North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, N.C.
NMAA	National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
OBCH	Planting Fields Foundation, Coe Hall, Oyster Bay, N.Y.
OCAM	Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin, Ohio
PA	Portsmouth Abbey, Portsmouth, R.I.
PC	Private Collection
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia Pa.
PS	Pomfret School, Chapel, Pomfret, Conn.
PU	Princeton University, The Art Museum, Princeton, N.J.
RCNY	Riverside Church, New York, N.Y.
RISD	Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art, Providence, R.I.
SBMA	Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Santa Barbara, Calif.
SBNY	St. Bartholomew's Church, New York, N.Y.
SD	Saint David's School, Chapel, New York, N.Y.
SFAM	San Francisco Fine Arts Museums, San Francisco, Calif.
SLAM	St. Louis Art Museum, St. Louis, Mo.
SMEC	St. Margaret's Episcopal Church, Staatsburg-on-Hudson, N.Y.
SML	J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, Ky.
SPEC	St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Cleveland Heights, Ohio
SUMA	Stanford University Museum of Art, Stanford, Calif.
TC	Trinity Cathedral, Cleveland, Ohio
TMA	Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio
UKMA	University of Kansas, Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kans.
UMMA	Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, Mich.
VMFA	Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Va.
WAG	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.
WAM	Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.
WC	Wellesley College, Davis Museum and Cultural Center, Wellesley College, Mass.
WM	The Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum, Inc., Winterthur, Del.
WRHS	Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio
YUG	Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BMMA:</i>	<i>Bulletin of The Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>	<i>MMJ:</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
col.:	column	n.:	note
exh. cat.:	exhibition catalogue	n.p.:	not paginated
fig.:	comparative figure	<i>Pat. Grec.:</i>	<i>Patrologia græca</i> , ed, J.-P. Migne
ill.:	illustration	<i>Pat. Lat.:</i>	<i>Patrologia latina</i> , ed, J.-P. Migne
MMAB:	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>	pt.:	part

CORPUS VITREARUM UNITED STATES RESTORATION SYMBOLS

	original pieces
	pieces replaced in the last restoration
	pieces replaced in the restoration that preceded the last
	pieces replaced in an undocumented 19th–20th century restoration
	pieces replaced prior to the 19th century
	pieces probably replaced in the last restoration
	pieces probably replaced in the restoration which preceded the last
	pieces probably replaced in a documented or undocumented restoration
	pieces probably replaced prior to the 19th century
	(stopgaps) unaltered old glass used to fill missing parts or as additions to a panel
	contemporary stopgaps from the same window or series of windows
	(palimpsest) altered or repainted old glass used to fill missing parts or as additions to a panel
	repainted original glass
	pieces reversed or flipped

Color Plates

- Plate 1. Fragment of a Border from a Moses (?) window. France, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1140–44 (No. 1)
- Plate 2. Two Fragments of a Border from an *Infancy of Christ* window. France, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1140–44 (No. 2A,B)
- Plate 3. Panel with Censing Angels from a *Dormition of the Virgin* window. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c. 1170 (No. 4)
- Plate 4. Portion of an ornamental window. France, Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c. 1180 (No. 6)
- Plate 5. *Bust of Abiud* and the lower part of another Ancestor of Christ. Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, c. 1200 (Nos. 9 and 10)
- Plate 6. (left) *God Incarnate closing the Door of Noah's Ark*. (right) *St. Martial founding the Cathedral See of Poitiers*. France, Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c. 1190 (Nos. 7 and 8)
- Plate 7. *Theodosius arrives at Ephesus*. France, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, 1200–1210 (No. 11)
- Plate 8. *Three Innocent Soldiers condemned to Death*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c. 1200–1210 (No. 12)
- Plate 9. *St. Nicholas accuses the Consul*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c. 1200–1210 (No. 13)
- Plate 10. Heads from the ambulatory windows at Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, by 1214. Pot-metal glass with vitreous paint
- Plate 11. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c. 1185–1205 (No. 15)
- Plate 12. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c. 1185–1205 (No. 16)
- Plate 13. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c. 1200/1205–23 (No. 14)
- Plate 14. Section of a Border. France, Amiens (?), c. 1230–40 (No. 18)
- Plate 15. Panel from a Grisaille Window. France, Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, c. 1240 (No. 21)
- Plate 16. Prophet from a *Tree of Jesse* window. France, Beauvais, c. 1245 (No. 23)
- Plate 17. *King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns*. France, Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien, 1245–48 (No. 24)
- Plate 18. Scenes from the *Legend of St. Vincent of Spain*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (Nos. 28–38)
- Plate 19. The Campin Room at The Cloisters, 1995
- Plate 20. *King Childebert on His Way to Spain*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (No. 32)
- Plate 21. *King Clothar accompanies his Brother to Spain*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (No. 33)
- Plate 22. *Vision of a sleeping Monk*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (No. 39)
- Plate 23. *A Servant carrying Two Flasks*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (No. 40)
- Plate 24. Grisaille Panel. France, Rouen, Château de Bouvreil, chapel, c. 1265 (No. 48)
- Plate 25. Roundel with Berries and Foliage. England, Salisbury, attributed to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, c. 1260–70 (No. 61)
- Plate 26. Grisaille Panel. France, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1320–24 (No. 64)
- Plate 27. Grisaille Panels, current installation. France, Rouen, Abbey Church of Saint-Ouen, 1320–30 (Nos. 66–70)
- Plate 28. *The Annunciation*. France, Burgundy, Dijonnais (?), c. 1440 (No. 86)
- Plate 29. *The Nativity*. France, Burgundy, Dijonnais (?), c. 1440 (No. 87)
- Plate 30. *Two Apostles*. France, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (?), c. 1320–35 (No. 73)
- Plate 31. *St. Barbara* (?). England, Norfolk, c. 1450 (No. 93)
- Plate 32. *Standing Saint* (St. John the Evangelist). England, Gloucestershire (?), c. 1475–80 (No. 106)
- Plate 33. Composite Window with Late Medieval English Glass, c. 1425–1565. Window condition, post-restoration (Nos. 100–108)
- Plates 34–37. *Standing Apostles* (Saints Andrew, Peter, James the Great, and Philip). England, Gloucestershire (?), c. 1475–80 (Nos. 100–103)
- Plate 38. *The Archangel Michael with a Donor*. France, Paris (?), c. 1500 (No. 116)

THE CATALOGUE

1-3. FOUR FRAGMENTS FROM THREE BORDERS

France (Seine-Saint-Denis), Saint-Denis, Church of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, ambulatory and crypt (?)

1140-44

Related material: Border fragments from the *Life of Moses* window (?): France (Seine-Saint-Denis), Saint-Denis, *Visions of Ezechiel* window, includes scattered fragments within the predominately nineteenth-century border; Paris, Musée Carnavelet, collection Gsell; United States, Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum (03.SG.181-182).

Border fragments from the *Infancy of Christ* window: France (Seine-et-Marne), Champs-sur-Marne, Dépôt des Monuments Historiques; Great Britain (County Durham), Barnard Castle, Raby Castle; London, Victoria and Albert Museum (C2-1983, formerly in the collection of Mrs. Charles S. Bird, United States, and C63-1989, formerly installed at Highcliff Castle); Twycross (Leicestershire), Church of St. James; Wilton (Wiltshire), Church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas; York (Yorkshire), the Yorkshire Museum; United States, Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum (03.SG.33 and 03.SG.190).

Border fragments from the *Life of St. Benedict* window: France, Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny (CL 22758 and CL 23534); United States, Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum (03.SG.33 and 03.SG.190).¹

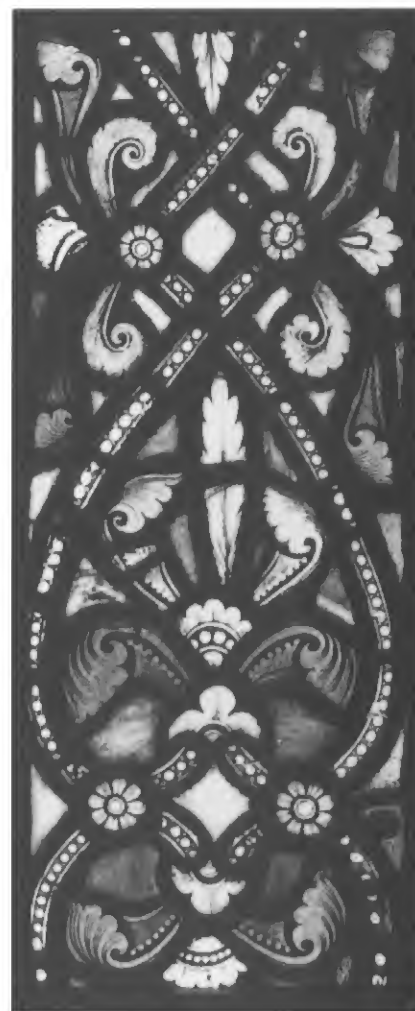
History of the glass: Border fragments from the Saint-Denis *Life of Moses* (?) and *Infancy of Christ* windows were acquired by the Museum in 1926 as part of a group of six French stained-glass works.² Bashford Dean (1867-1928), curator of Arms and Armor, had identified the panels among pieces he had seen in Paris offered independently by Augustin Lambert and André Lion; trustee and benefactor George D. Pratt (1869-1935) purchased the lot for the Metropolitan.³ The third Saint-Denis border fragment, from the St. Benedict window, came to the Museum more recently, in 1980, when it was acquired from Brimo de Laroussilhe, Paris, as part of a composite panel for The Cloisters Collection.

Although the border fragments now designated as Nos. 1 and 2 were named in the Pratt "Offer of Gift" document as coming from Saint-Denis,⁴ it was not until 1950 that Louis Grodecki, then a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, had the opportunity to examine the stained glass at the Metropolitan Museum and was able to identify the fragments with specific windows at the former abbey church. In a letter Grodecki stated that No. 1 came from the *Life of Moses* window (bay 5), now installed in the Chapel of Saint-Périgrin on the north side of the choir.⁵ At the time no

other piece of this border was known, and Grodecki believed that the fragment had served as the model for François Debret's (1777-1850) restoration of this window that began in 1830-34.⁶ Since Grodecki's visit to the Museum in 1950, other more complete pieces of this border pattern have been discovered (1/fig. 1), and the Museum's fragment is no longer considered to be the "model."⁷

The two fragments comprising No. 2 are from the border of the Infancy window (bay 1), the design of which can be seen in a drawing by Charles Percier (1764-1838) made during the winter of 1794-95, before the removal of the windows during the French Revolution (2/fig. 1).⁸ Each of these fragments is about half the width of the original border, but they are not matching halves of the same piece.⁹ While Grodecki believed that the border had been cut in half to adapt it for installation in Alexandre Lenoir's (1761-1839) Musée des monumens français (1795-1816) in Paris, there is no evidence that this border was ever installed in Lenoir's museum.¹⁰

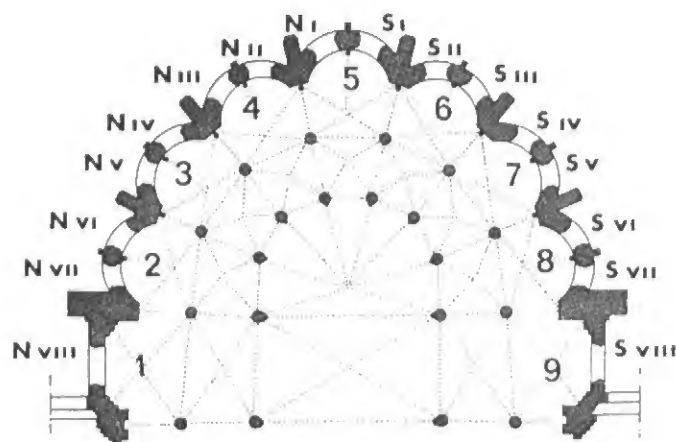
Although we can establish No. 3 as part of the *Life of St. Benedict* window (again identifiable from the Percier drawing), we know nothing of its past before it appeared on the Paris art market under the ownership of Brimo de Laroussilhe.¹¹ This fragment, with a large section missing in the



1/fig. 1. Border Panel from a Moses (?) window. France, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1140-44. Glencairn Museum, Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

center, was adapted for insertion within a composite panel, which also includes an angel playing a portative organ, damascened backgrounds dating to the fifteenth century, and enameled quoins of the seventeenth century at the corners.

Original location: These border fragments were once part of the elaborate glazing program undertaken by Abbot Suger (c.1081–1151) in the creation of a new choir (begun in 1140 and dedicated in 1144) for the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (1/fig. 2).¹² The ambulatory glass



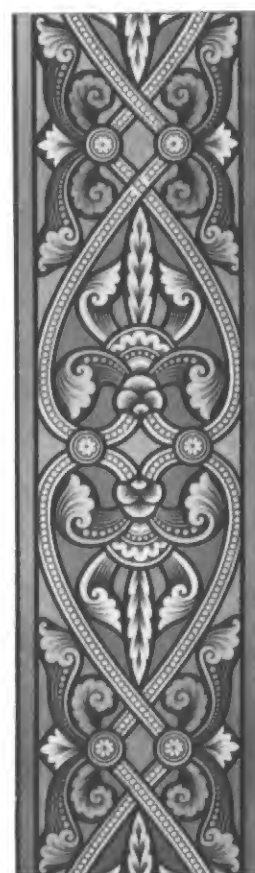
1/fig. 2. Floor plan, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, ambulatory (after CV France, *Études* I, p. 31)

apparently remained in situ until the French Revolution. In 1793 the royal tombs were desecrated, and the sepulchral monuments threatened with destruction.¹³ Alexandre Lenoir subsequently removed stained glass from Saint-Denis – together with many of the royal tomb monuments – for exhibition in his *Musée des monumens français*. Elements of the twelfth-century Jesse Tree, surrounded by the border design of the Museum fragment (No. 1), together with the Griffin window were installed in the museum's Fourteenth-Century Gallery.¹⁴ With the closure of Lenoir's museum in 1816, stained-glass panels were returned to Saint-Denis, where – in the case of these border designs – they were subjected to the successive restoration campaigns supervised by Debret and Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879).¹⁵

Despite the peripatetic nature of the Saint-Denis glass occasioned by the French Revolution, two of the Metropolitan Museum's border designs, those associated with the *Infancy of Christ* and St. Benedict windows (Nos. 2A, B and 3, respectively), were recorded at Saint-Denis prior to the removal of the glass; the border from the *Life of Moses* (?) window (No. 1) was allied with Saint-Denis by Martin and Cahier in 1841–44 (1/fig. 3).¹⁶ However, the association of the design of No. 1 with the Moses window, although traditional, is not certain. This motif was actually used twice during the nineteenth-century restorations at Saint-

Denis: once by Alfred Gérente (1821–1868) for the border of the Moses window (bay 5) and also for that of the Ezechiel window (bay 4).¹⁷ Debret had used the pattern even earlier in a heavier, clumsy version of the border, four panels of which still exist in a window in the Chapel of Saint-Eugène (bay 8).¹⁸ And while Suger himself mentioned the Moses window in the new ambulatory,¹⁹ we have no drawings or engravings that record its pre-Revolutionary appearance. It has thus been assumed that because Gérente used the design of this border to surround his Moses window, it was the original border for the first Moses window.²⁰

Of the two border designs recorded by Percier, neither the *Infancy of Christ* nor the St. Benedict windows are documented by Suger. Yet even though Suger does not mention the Infancy window, it has been assumed to date from his abbacy because his image appears in supplication at the foot of the Virgin. Panel No. 3 is proven to be a portion of the border of the St. Benedict window not only by the documentation provided by the Percier drawing but also by virtue of a fragment of the same design still attached to a scene from the saint's life now in the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris.²¹ No account of the abbey mentions a St. Benedict window, but a chapel in the crypt, the first radiating chapel on the north side, was dedicated to this saint on the occasion of the consecration of Suger's choir in 1144.²² The chapel contains two windows each, both of which could have included a glazing cycle with this border.²³ Although the design was not used by Viollet-le-Duc in his restoration, it had been employed earlier by Debret in one of his composite windows in the Chapel of the Virgin in 1833.²⁴ Since the chapel that this window or windows probably decorated is located in the crypt of the choir, it is possible that the glazing was done following the consecration of 1144. After completion of the choir, Suger appears to have continued his building program almost without a pause, concentrating next on the rebuilding of the transept.²⁵



1/fig. 3. Border design from a Moses (?) window from the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (from Martin and Cahier 1841–44, *Mosaïques Bordures D*[b])

Bibliography: Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques*, Bordures D(b), illustrates the Moses (?) pattern in color and identifies it as “St. Denys. Verrières de Suger”; *ibid.*, *Mosaïques*, Bordures L(13), depicts the Benedict border pattern; Jones 1856, pl. LXIX, nos. 16 and 26, shows colored engravings of the Benedict and Moses (?) border patterns, respectively; Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, p. 29, pl. XII, illustrates the Moses (?) design (No. 1); *BMMA* 1926a, p. 270, records Pratt’s gift; *BMMA* 1926b, p. 294, announces the gifts of Nos. 1 and 2 and gives the provenance of No. 2A, B as the “Abbey of St. Denis”; Comstock 1927, pp. 47–48, illustrates No. 1; Erwin Panofsky in Suger 1946, p. 193, alludes to the Museum’s borders; Grodecki 1952a, pp. 53–57, makes the first attribution of No. 1 to Saint-Denis and confirms the provenance of No. 2 to Saint-Denis; Grodecki 1961b, vol. 1, p. 179, discusses No. 2A, B as part of the original border of the Infancy window; New York 1971, nos. 1 (No. 1) and 2 (No. 2A, B); Hayward 1971–72, p. 110, illustrates No. 2A, B with part B reversed to show the original pattern; Crosby 1972, p. 33 and fig. 63, discusses the ornament of No. 1 in relationship to that of the bas-relief; CV France, *Études* I, pp. 126–27, 129–30, and pls. 195 and 202, is the first comprehensive study of the twelfth-century stained glass from Saint-Denis; Katonah 1978, p. 23, no. 47 (ill.), discusses and illustrates No. 1; Reno, Nevada 1978, no. 35, lists No. 1; Erwin Panofsky in Suger 1979, p. 207, amplifies his discussion from the first edition, focusing on No. 2A, B at the time the only known extant example from the Infancy window; *MMA Annual Report* 1980, p. 41, cites the purchase of No. 3; New York 1981, pp. 82–83, no. 14, discusses No. 2A, B; Caviness 1984b, p. 69, cites the Museum’s Infancy border fragments (No. 2A, B) in conjunction with a discussion of Infancy border fragments included in a composite panel acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; CV US, *Checklist* I, pp. 92–93, gives basic information for all four pieces with bibliography and incorrectly cites Grosvenor Thomas as the dealer from whom Nos. 1 and 2A, B were purchased; [Cothren 1986c, p. 408 n. 41 and p. 419, provides a full accounting of extant border elements (including the Museum’s glass) from the *Infancy of Christ* window; Matthey de l’Étang 1989, vol. 2, pp. 566–67, includes the Museum border fragments within the larger context of twelfth-century border design; Matthey de l’Étang 1990, pp. 18, 22 nn. 18 and 27, and fig. 5, discusses the Moses (?) and Infancy border designs; Catherine Grodecki in CV France, *Études* III, p. 9 and fig. A, illustrates Louis Grodecki’s drawing of the Moses (?) border (No. 1); Gatouillat 1996, pp. 151–61, cites No. 1 in conjunction with a fragment from the former collection of Gaspard Gsell (1814–1904); Lagabriele 1998, p. 83, alludes to No. 3 in consideration of a comparable border section acquired by the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris; *Masterworks from the*

MMA, 1998, includes No. 1; New York 1998–99, p. 137, erroneously states that Nos. 1 and 2A, B were purchased for The Cloisters; New York 1999, p. 64, briefly discusses No. 3; Timothy B. Husband in Carboni et al. 2001, p. 33 (No. 1)].

1. Fragment of a Border from a Moses (?) window

Rectangular panel (with irregular top edge):

31.4 × 21.6 cm (12 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926 (26.218.5)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 1, 1/a, 1/figs. 1–7

Description: A bouquet of stylized leaves is framed by a pearled ribbon in a heart shape. The bouquet is composed of four symmetrically arranged leaves flanking a central foliate spike. The bottom pair of emerald green leaves emerge from a yellow trefoil florette to curl outward and down; the top pair of clear light yellow leaves emerges from a central white beaded foliate medallion to curl inward. In both pairs each leaf is contoured by a single row of pearls painted in reserve as well as by thin, evenly spaced lines of trace. The central pale blue foliate spike that also emerges from the beaded white medallion is now inverted. The pearled ribbon originates from the yellow trefoil at the base of the bouquet and surrounds the arrangement in a heart-shaped frame, the ends of the ribbon overlapping at its apex. The glass used for the ribbon is warm white; two tiny circles are scratched between each pearl, and a narrow border is incised at each side to indicate the lateral edges of the fillet. The background inside the area defined by the ribbon is a strong, deep ruby red; outside, it is sapphire blue. At the base of the bouquet-and-ribbon motif, two yellow buttons painted in a floral design clasp the framing ribbon of a partial, symmetrical bouquet. At the top of the panel, paired curled leaf fronds (green at the outer edge, pink at the inside) fill the corner interstices. The inner surface of the green leaves is crosshatched.

Condition: Comparison of this example with the more complete fragment (1/fig. 1) now in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, indicates how much of the pattern is lost.²⁶ Clearly, the panel has been truncated through losses at the top. In all probability, the lower edge of the fragment is the original extremity of the panel. The glass appears to have been restored twice, with the stop-gaps representing the earlier repairs (which may have occurred while the glass was still at the abbey or when it was in the workshop of the Géroente brothers during the Viollet-le-Duc restoration).²⁷ More repairs are evident in

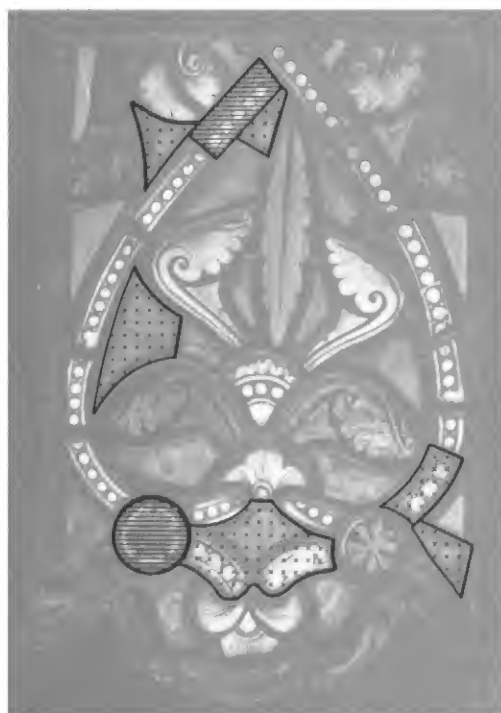


1. Fragment of a Border from a Moses (?) window. France, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1140-44

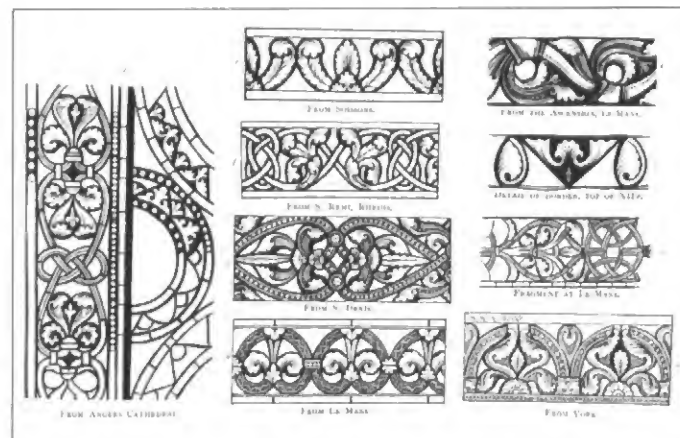
this piece than in the comparable example at Glencairn. The back of the fragment is typical of panels removed from Saint-Denis at the end of the eighteenth century. Except for the blue glass, numerous small, rounded bubbles ranging in size from a point to the head of a pin appear milky white in the film of the surface and have not yet broken away to form pits.²⁸ That the panel was releaded after it left the abbey is demonstrated by the reversed direction of the light blue leaf spike in the center of the composition. Most recently, in late 2000, the reinstallation of stained glass in the Museum's medieval galleries provided the opportunity for this border element, as well as other panels (Nos. 2A, B; 7 and 8; 9 and 10; 14), to be conserved by Thomas Venturella. In the present example, a wide perimeter lead was removed, leaving a normal lead surround. Glass, painted black and fired, was added to the bottom corners of the piece, allowing it to be framed as a rectangle with a brass channel.

Composition: The border from which this fragment came was designed as a repetition of symmetrical modules of knotted or clasped pearled ribbons enclosing bouquets of foliage. The full motif consisted of two heart-shaped compartments opposed and joined by buttons painted in a floral design, each of which was arranged so that it ran parallel to either the vertical or the horizontal axis of the window. Known as a modular border, this type of composition flows in a continuous movement around the edge of the window aperture.

Several features of this border distinguish it from others of its compositional type and relate it to additional border patterns known to be from Saint-Denis. Although the ribbon-enclosed bouquet appears in twelfth-century glass in



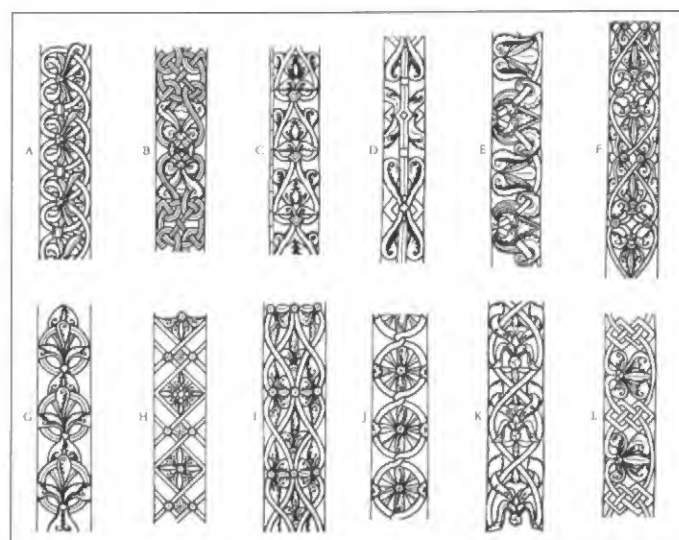
1/a.
Restoration
chart



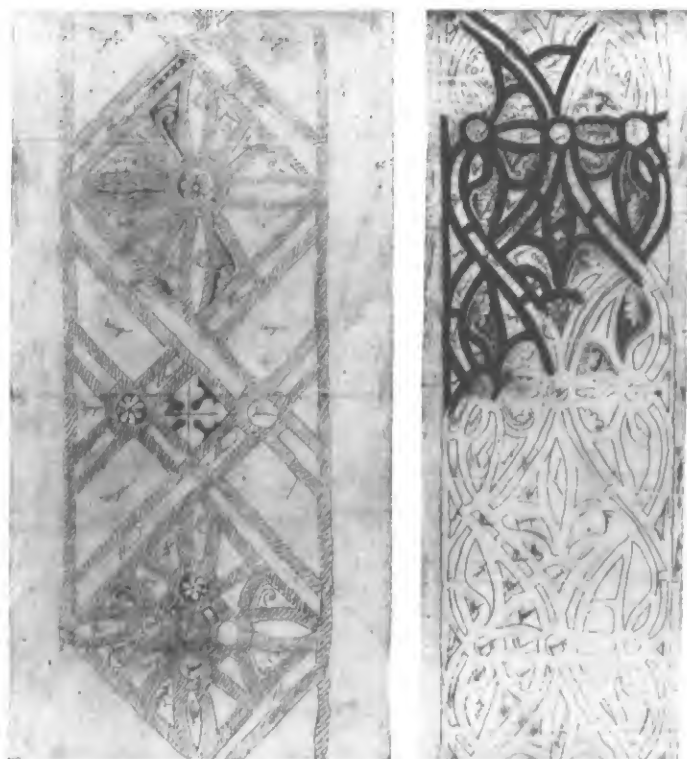
1/fig. 4. Twelfth-century border designs, including examples from the Cathedrals of Angers and Le Mans, as well as the Abbey Churches of Saint-Denis and Saint-Remi (from Westlake 1881-94, vol. 1, pl. XII)

the west of France, at the Cathedrals of Saint-Maurice at Angers and Saint-Julien at Le Mans, the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi in Reims (1/fig. 4), as well as at the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers, the method of fastening the ribbon differs. All of these examples use an interlaced knot to link the opposing motifs, in contrast to the floral bosses employed in the Museum's fragment. However, painted bosses similar to those in the Museum's panel were used to connect motifs in two other twelfth-century borders at Saint-Denis: Grodecki's border types H and I (1/fig. 5), both of which were recorded by Juste Lisch (1828-1910; 1/figs. 6 and 7).²⁹ In fact, the stopgap now in the left boss in the Museum's fragment exactly duplicates the design of the paired bosses in Grodecki's type H, from which it was undoubtedly taken.

The other, more interesting, motif, type I, is known only through the Lisch tracing, but a detailed comparison of its ornament with that of the Museum's fragment suggests



1/fig. 5. Border designs from the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (after CV France, *Études I*, p. 129)



1/fig. 6. (left) JUSTE LISCH, Tracing of a border panel from an unknown window, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. Collection Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Paris

1/fig. 7. (right) JUSTE LISCH, Tracing of a border panel from an unknown window, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. Collection Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Paris

that the same hand was responsible for both borders. Like the Museum's fragment, Grodecki's type I has stick-lighted pearls demarcating the undersides of the leaves, and the bud of the central spray is painted with the same design in both cases. Additional matches between the two borders include the presence of a leaf spike that emerges from the midst of a floral bouquet as well as the floral motif of the original bosses. The exact design of the stick-lighted ribbon in the Museum's fragment, a large pearl surrounded by four small circles, is not repeated in any of the other borders from Saint-Denis. Most of the other borders from the abbey choir, however, have painted ribbons decorated with other patterns drawn with a stylus. Thus, the stick-lighted ribbon appears to be characteristic of the style used in the choir glass at Saint-Denis; it is a technique less frequently encountered in other early centers of glass painting in France. The extraordinary richness of this ornament was to be repeated later, albeit to a lesser degree, in the west windows of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres.³⁰

Technique: The painted ornament of this border is extremely rich and delicately crafted. The ribbon that encloses the floral bouquet is produced with trace paint that after application is removed with a stylus to form pearls. The stylus is used in a number of different ways: parallel strokes scratched in the mat modify or soften the

shaded area of the inner surface in the yellow and green leaves; an incised line of small beads creates texture in the inner surface of these leaves; and trace paint removed from the white fillet delineates the large pearls, the small circles, and the bright edge of the white band. The overall design is also enriched by hatched lines that effect the illusion of three-dimensional form by contouring the tips of the leaves as they curl over upon themselves or curve inward toward the keel vein, as seen in the central spike and in the pink leaves. The standard two shades of mat painting, in addition to the trace lines, are employed in this border, as recommended by Theophilus.³¹

Photographic reference: Negatives 64613 and 267567.

2. Two Fragments of a Border from an Infancy of Christ Window

Two rectangular panels:

A: 42.6 × 11.4 cm (16 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 4 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

B: 42.5 × 12.1 cm (16 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926 (26.218.6a,b)
Department of Medieval Art

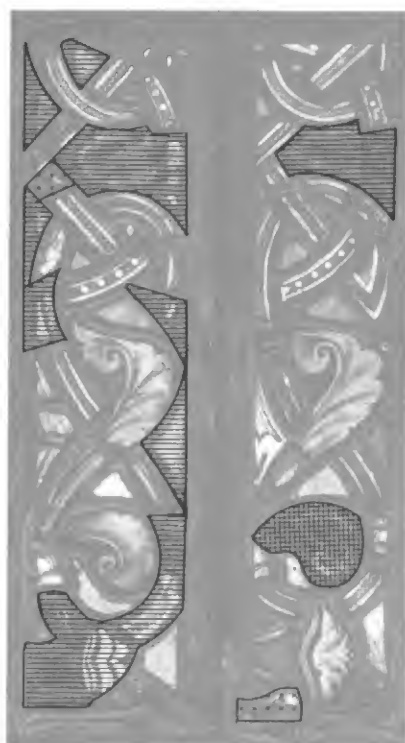
Ill. nos. 2A, B, 2/a, 2/fig. 1

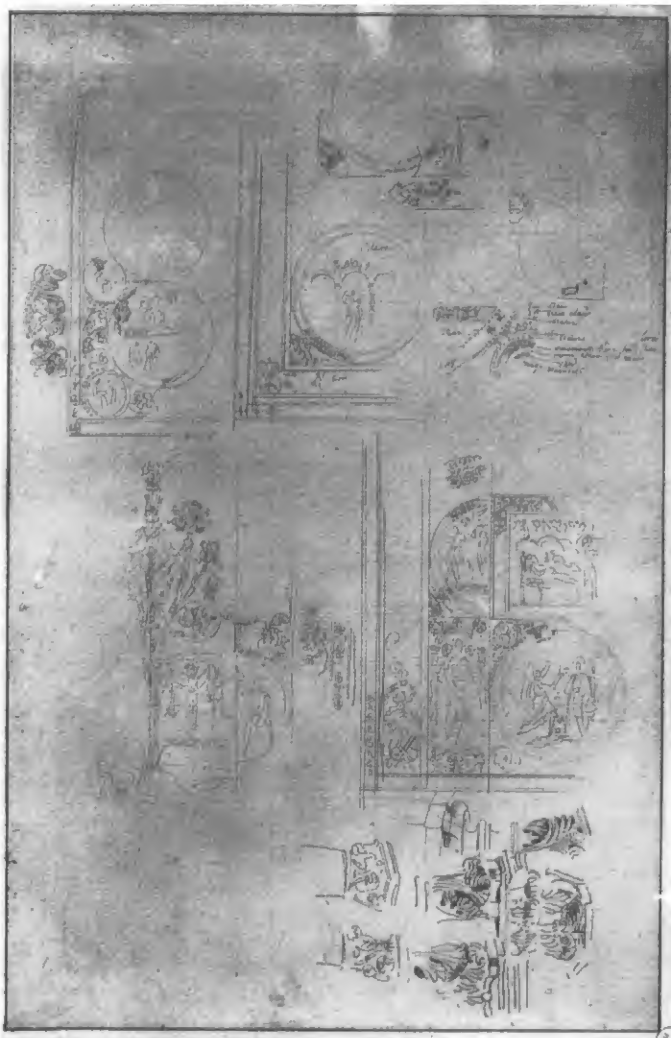
Description: These fragments comprise two isolated halves of a border, each of which illustrates half of the pattern's foliate bouquet, composed of stylized leaf fronds, and half of the pattern's intertwining ribbon knot. At the base of the bouquet is a horizontal green leaf. The leaves of the bouquet issue from a central halved yellow trefoil; the central halved leaf frond is also yellow. The top light green leaves curl over a framing white ribbon, while the bottom pinkish murrey leaves remain enclosed within the ribbon. The leaves are articulated with bunched lines of trace. Above the bouquet the ribbon interlaces with a pearled, golden yellow circle to form an intertwined knot. The white ribbon is decorated with a zigzag pattern. The background of the foliate portion of the pattern is a deep ruby red outside the area defined by the ribbon, a deep sapphire blue within. The background of the knot pattern is a clear, deep sapphire blue.

Condition: Numerous pieces have been replaced in both the painted fillet and in the background of No. 2A; also not original is the horizontal leaf that joins the two bouquets of the complete design. Panel No. 2B shows fewer repairs, with only two pieces of the background replaced and repainting on the small, curled pink leaf. The fragments in their current state each represent only half of two separate sections from the original border. In late 2000 wide perimeter leads were removed from these border elements (as with No. 1), allowing the normal lead

2A, B. Two Fragments of a
Border from an *Infancy of Christ*
window. France, Abbey Church
of Saint-Denis, 1140-44

2/a. Restoration chart





2/fig. 1. CHARLES PERCIER, Drawing of stained glass and capitals at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1794–95. Bibliothèque Municipale, Compiègne

surround to remain. Both Nos. 2A, B were individually framed with brass channels.

Composition: This border, like No. 1, runs parallel in its design to either the vertical or the horizontal axis of the window, so that it flows continuously around the edge of the window aperture. Also as in the previous example, the bouquet of leaves is joined and opposed by a decorative motif; in this case, a pair of horizontal leaf fronds that show at the bottom of one of these two pieces.

The design from which the Museum's fragments originate is composed of opposed floral bouquets framed by ribbons, much like those in the Moses (?) window border, with the exception that the upper leaves weave over and under the ribbons. An elaborate knot, created by the angular interweavings of the zigzag ribbon within a pearled circle, appears between bouquets that face each other. Variations of this design are common in French borders of the twelfth century. The Saint-Denis Infancy window pattern is closely related to examples in western France, including

borders from the cathedrals of Angers, Poitiers, and Le Mans. The closest comparison is the lost border design from Le Mans published by Nathaniel Westlake (1/fig. 4) and copied as one of the borders of the St. Stephen windows now on the north side of the nave of the cathedral.³² It incorporates the interlacing fillet and ring, as does the design at Saint-Denis, but unlike the abbey's border the ring at Le Mans is not used to reverse the direction of the bouquet.

Color: The basic colors of this border design are less subtle and closer to primary hues than are other examples from Saint-Denis. The blue is a clear, deep sapphire; the red is a particularly brilliant striated ruby; and the green has a yellowish cast. The pink leaves are much deeper in tone – almost a light murrey – than those in the Moses (?) window border.

Technique: Although both Nos. 1 and 2A, B follow the painting recommendations of Theophilus, these two border fragments from the Infancy window are much less accomplished than the previous example. Here, the darker tone of mat used to define the leaf veins is often dry, uneven, and blotchy, and the ribbon stickwork is uncontrolled and not uniform in scale. And while the motifs employed in this border, such as the curled pink leaves, are similar to those in No. 1, the technique used to paint them is quite different. The artist who painted this border began with a broad stripe of mat and then spread it with fine, hairline strokes that frequently dry out, producing skips in the line. This approach is also evident in the border from an unknown window at Saint-Denis (recorded by Lisch), as well as in Grodecki's type G (1/fig. 5), examples of which are now at the Glencairn Museum and in storage at the Monuments Historiques.³³ The latter displays the same looseness of painting found in these two fragments.

Photographic reference: Negatives 218397 and 267568.

3. Fragment of a Border from a Life of St. Benedict window

Irregularly shaped panel: 13.3 × 31.2 cm
(5¼ × 12¼ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1980 (1980.10)

Ill. nos. 3, 3/a, 3/1, 3/fig. 1

Description: Two bouquets of four stylized leaves each are enclosed within white, heart-shaped, leafy vines that form a continuous pattern in a single direction. The heart-shaped motifs connect one to the other by the top of the vine, which loops over an alternately yellow or pink base from which the next heart-shaped vine emerges. Curling leaves grow symmetrically from the apex of the vine,

while leaf scars are visible at the base of the branches. Muted yellow and dull pink glass alternates in the leaves that compose the bouquets, which are symmetrical and curl outward at the bottom and inward at the top. The undersides of the leaves have beading in reserve, and the veins are defined by thin, grouped brushstrokes. The interior of the bouquet is a medium sapphire; the background is forest green.

Condition: This fragment was joined with later, unrelated fragments in a composite panel (3/1). A large area missing from the center of the border has been filled with the drapery of an angel's robe, and the corners are similarly filled with two extraneous enamel plaques. Like other glass removed from Saint-Denis, the back surface of the glass – with the exception of the blue glass – is evenly patinated with a light grayish white film. In addition, the small, dull white clusters of bubbles near the surface that characterize displaced Saint-Denis glass are present.

Composition: Like the previous two border designs (Nos. 1 and 2A, B), this pattern could be read as running parallel to either the vertical or the horizontal axis of the window. A complete segment of this border, now in the Glencairn Museum, was traced by Lisch about 1850.³⁴ Unlike the two previous examples, however, the floral bouquets here are not opposed but face the same direction. Thus the pattern of this fragment is closer than the Moses (?) window pattern (No. 1) to the design of the earlier sculptured colonette that once formed the right jamb from the south door on the west facade of the abbey church and is now in the collection of the Musée National du Moyen Âge,



3. Fragment of a Border
Panel from a *Life of*
St. Benedict window. France,
Abbey Church of Saint-
Denis, 1140–44

3/a. Restoration chart





3/1. Composite panel including
No. 3. The Cloisters Collection
(1980.10)

Thermes de Cluny, Paris (3/fig. 1).³⁵ Yet these comparisons are somewhat deceptive. The fillet that surrounds the bouquet of the Saint-Denis colonette is carved in a zigzag pattern more like that of the fillet in the Infancy window border (Nos. 2A, B) than the relatively simple vine of the present fragment. Moreover, the leaves of the colonette bouquet are clasped by a ring and do not issue from an open bud, as they do here. In addition, what appears to be a leaf growing from the fillet in the colonette, similar to the leaf sprouting from the vine in the fragment, is actually an extension of the long leaf of the colonette's bouquet. Despite these minor differences, the St. Benedict window border appears to be a type originating at Saint-Denis that can also be found in variations later at Saint-Remi at Reims and at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Sens.³⁶

3/fig. 1. Detail, limestone
colonnette, Abbey Church
of Saint-Denis, west
façade, c. 1137-40. Musée
National du Moyen Âge,
Thermes de Cluny, Paris



Technique: The sharp, crisp character of this ornament is unlike that of the other borders from Saint-Denis: it is achieved by employing the mat as line rather than as a toning wash and by using the trace as the darkest tone of the design rather than as outline. These variations of the standard glass-painting technique produced an individualization of style that distinguishes the work of the painter responsible for the St. Benedict window. The same technique is employed in the figural parts of the window,³⁷ producing an effect that is fundamentally linear and decorative, with a profusion of fine detail.

Photographic reference: Negative 224472.

NOTES

The editors wish to thank Michael W. Cothren, who shared his wealth of knowledge about the stained glass of Saint-Denis during the editing of this entry, and Claudine Lautier, who provided critical assistance in updating information about Saint-Denis border elements in French collections.

- In addition to extant related fragments from these borders, there are early drawings illustrating border elements from these three windows: a drawing by Charles Percier in Compiègne, Bibliothèque Municipale, c.1794–95, illustrates border designs from the *Infancy of Christ* and the *Life of St. Benedict* windows, [see Cothren 1986c, p. 409 n. 54]. Among unpublished images dating from the middle of the nineteenth century that depict these border designs are illustrations by Juste Lisch (rubbing), Paris, Médiathèque du Patrimoine et de l'Architecture; Charles Winston (watercolors), London, British Library, Add. MS. 35,211, vol. IV, fol. 291 (*Infancy*) and fol. 314 (*Infancy*); J. C. Buckler (pen and ink and watercolor), London, British Library, Add. MS. 37,135, no. 186, labeled "Abbot Suger, St. Denis, Paris-exposition, Bruxelles-1880" (see Brussels-Paris 1882, p. 332). [See also Matthey de l'Étang 1989, vol. 2, pp. 561–73, for a list of extant border fragments known at the time, and Cothren 1986c, p. 419, for an annotated list of extant fragments from the *Infancy of Christ* window. Bashford Dean's travel diary from 1924 shows a detailed drawing, including color notations, of the floral bouquet from the *Infancy* border. While Dean identifies it as twelfth century and originating from Saint-Denis, he gives no information regarding the border fragment's whereabouts. The drawing, however, is included among other notes and drawings Dean made while he was in England. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Arms and Armor, departmental files.]
- Also included in the Pratt gift was ornamental glass from the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi at Reims (No. 6), a section from an early thirteenth-century border (No. 17), and two Beauvaisis prophets (Nos. 22 and 23).
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives.
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives. See also *BMA* 1926b, p. 294.
- The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files, letter from Louis Grodecki to James Rorimer dated "Princeton, le 28 mars 1950."
- Grodecki 1952a, p. 55, in which he published this conclusion for the first time.
- See New York 1982, pp. 83–84, and [Gatouillat 1996, pp. 151–57.]
- Charles Percier, album of drawings, Compiègne, Bibliothèque Municipale, c. 1794–95. See CV France, *Études* I, pp. 40–41, ill. 10.
- See Hayward 1971–72, p. 110, where the two panels are illustrated with No. 2b reversed to illustrate the border pattern.
- CV France, *Études* I, p. 127 and n. 62. None of the engravings of the museum's galleries published in Biet and Brès 1821 show this border design.
- [The figural panel now at the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes

de Cluny, Paris from the St. Benedict window (CL 22758), which includes a small portion of the border, was acquired in 1958, also from Brimo de Laroussilhe. Museum records suggest that Brimo acquired the panel from descendants of Alfred Gèrente. See Matthey de l'Étang 1989, vol. 2, p. 566. The Benedict border fragment published by Grodecki (illustrated unlit and from the back) in CV France, *Études* I, p. 231, no. 203, as coming from a private collection was acquired by the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris, in 1997 (CL 23534). See Lagabriele 1998, p. 83.]

- See Crosby 1987, pp. 215–65. [For recent discussions of Suger, see Grant 1998 and Brown, 2001, pp. 64–260.]
- For a summary, see Réau 1959, vol. 1, pp. 224–27, and CV France, *Études* I, pp. 39–41.
- See *ibid.*, pp. 40–46. [For a schematic illustration of this border design, see Biet and Brès 1821, pl. 17.]
- See CV France, *Études* I, pp. 47–56.
- Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques, Bordures* D(b).
- CV France, *Études* I, pp. 129–30; [Gatouillat 1996, p. 155 n. 15.] If Grodecki is correct and the Signum Tau now in the Ezechiel window was part of a typological Passion window designed with paired medallions, there would not have been sufficient room to accommodate a border of this width. Therefore, it is more logical to associate the border with the Moses window. [See CV France, *Études* III, pp. 104–6.]
- CV France, *Études* I, p. 128.
- Suger 1979, pp. 72–77 (*De administratione*, book XXXIV).
- [For an excellent summary of the traditional association of this design with the Moses window at Saint-Denis, see Gatouillat 1996, pp. 154–55.]
- See CV France, *Études* I, p. 207, ills. 145 and 148.
- Suger 1979, pp. 118–19 (*De consecratione*, book VII). [More recently, liturgical practices for the feast of St. Benedict have led Anne Robertson to propose that the St. Benedict window was originally installed not in the crypt but in the Chapel of Hilary of Mende (for which St. Benedict was a secondary dedicatee), located in the chevet; see Robertson 1991, pp. 275–76. See also Lombard-Jourdan 1997.]
- [For Grodecki's discussion of a St. Benedict cycle at Saint-Denis, see CV France, *Études* III, pp. 120–29.] CV France, *Études* I, p. 48.
- Debret's windows were published in color by de Lasteyrie 1838, vol. 2, pls. III and IV; in black and white, de Lasteyrie 1853, plate vol., pl. III.
- CV France, *Études* I, p. 27. For Suger's unfinished rebuilding of the transept, see Crosby 1987, pp. 267–77.
- New York 1982, no. 24 and color pl. 2; CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 102.
- CV France, *Études* I, pp. 52–56, discusses the general disorder of the storage area at Saint-Denis and the work done during Viollet-le-Duc's tenure (1847–79).
- This type of pitting is consistent with panels from Saint-Denis now in the Metropolitan Museum and the Glencairn Museum. [For analysis of this distinctive corrosion, see Cothren 1986c, pp. 406–8.]
- CV France, *Études* I, p. 129 (border types H and I), and figs. 198 and 199 (Lisch rubbings).
- See Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 1, pls. I and VI.
- Theophilus 1961, pp. 49–50, includes the original Latin text; Theophilus 1963, pp. 63–65, is more precisely footnoted. [See also Cothren 1988, p. 50, regarding evidence of "work sharing" practices evident in border fragments from the Moses (?) window.]
- Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, p. 29 pl. XII; [Matthey de l'Étang 1989, vol. 1, p. 128]. For Angers, see Grodecki 1977, fig. 63, and [Matthey de l'Étang 1989, vol. 2, pp. 348–51]. For Poitiers, see Grodecki 1977, fig. 58, and [Matthey de l'Étang 1989, vol. 2, pp. 515–18].
- CV France, *Études* I, pp. 228 and 233–34; see also New York 1982, pp. 96–97, and CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 103.
- See New York 1982, pp. 88–89; CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 103 [the Glencairn Museum's collection also includes an additional small fragment (03.SG.190) showing the upper part of the floral bouquet]. See also CV France, *Études* I, p. 232, pl. 206.

35. Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris (CL 19576). The recurrent use of palmette designs on the colonette and in stained glass was first proposed in Crosby 1972, p. 33. See also New York 1981, pp. 37–38.
36. For examples at Saint-Remi and Sens, see Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, Mosaïques F(3), (5), (6), and (7), and Mosaïques, Bordures I, respectively.
37. [For the figural panels from the St. Benedict window, see CV France, *Études* III, fig. F; pl. VI; and figs. 49–50, 52, and 54.]

4. SCENE FROM A DORMITION OF THE VIRGIN WINDOW

France (Aube), Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?)

c.1170–80

Related material: France (Aube), Troyes, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, Treasury, *Apostles and Censing Angel*; United States, Massachusetts, Wellesley, Wellesley College Museum, *Censing Angels* (1949.19a); New York, New York, Queens College, Godwin-Ternbach Museum, *Mourning Apostles* (65.7); The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Head of the Virgin* (?) (1977.346.17); Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum, *Mourning Apostles* (03.SG.185).

History of the glass: This panel, showing four angels with censers, was owned by the dealer Joseph Brummer (b.1883) until his death in 1947, when it became the property of his brother Ernst (b.1891). When Ernst Brummer died in 1964, it was inherited by his wife, Ella Baché Brummer, who donated it to the Museum in 1977.¹ Records indicate that Joseph Brummer purchased the panel, together with a large group of fragments (including text ills. 17 and 18), in 1937 from André Lion in Paris.²

Original location: The Museum's composition with four angels with censers is part of a larger group of stylistically related panels dating to the twelfth century that were recorded in the early nineteenth century in the choir of the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Troyes.³ This documentation has led to a traditional attribution of the group to the cathedral.⁴ However, this attribution has recently been convincingly questioned. As Elizabeth Pastan has pointed out, there is no longer a single twelfth-century panel mounted within the thirteenth-century glazing of the cathedral, nor is there any evidence that the twelfth-century panels were ever an integral part of the cathedral glazing.⁵ Anne-François Arnaud's account of 1837 (printed in 1843) is the earliest published source mentioning the twelfth-century panels in the cathedral, and, most importantly, it includes engravings of three scenes, two from the *Temptations of Christ* series and one from the *Life of St. Nicholas*, panels all now at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.⁶ But while Arnaud describes the cathedral glazing in detail, the only mention of these twelfth-

century panels appears in the caption accompanying the St. Nicholas engraving, which states: "Vitrail de la Cathédrale: tiré d'une chapelle du pourtour."⁷

One of the factors that militates against assigning the twelfth-century panels to Troyes Cathedral is chronology – the panels do not correspond to any documented campaign of restoration at the cathedral. Some scholars have cited the evidence of restorations following a fire that took place in Troyes in 1188 as indicative of the panels' origin at the cathedral. However, the fire swept through the entire town of Troyes, damaging not only the existing cathedral but also other churches.⁸ As the work of Joseph Roserot de Melin and Norbert Bongartz has demonstrated, the next extant documents involving the cathedral after the restorations of 1188 mention that newly founded altars were dedicated in 1198 and 1202 and that the cathedral chapter was enlarged by five canons at the same time. Shortly after, in 1208, a purchase of land permitted the expansion of the choir to the east.⁹ This would suggest that the rebuilding of Troyes Cathedral was underway at the turn of the thirteenth century. Yet on the basis of style this group of stained-glass panels to which the Museum's angels belong seems much earlier; Grodecki's last publication on this question dated them to 1170–80.¹⁰

Such a date, to approximately the last quarter of the twelfth century, allows for several possibilities of origin. The panels could have been installed in the cathedral a decade or so before the fire, and the remains that survived could have been reused in the new thirteenth-century Gothic choir. The fact that four of the panels, one in London and three in Paris, have added borders of a style common to French windows of about 1235–40 would support this theory. Madeline Caviness and Charles Little have argued that the panels predate the fire of 1188, pointing out that the later additions are in the same medieval leads as the core of older glass, suggestive of a medieval restoration.¹¹ Nonetheless, it is still necessary to explain how and why only the twelfth-century panels were systematically removed from the cathedral's glazing during the nineteenth century as well as why there are so many duplications of subject matter between the twelfth-century panels and the thirteenth-century windows of the cathedral.¹²

A second theory proposes that the twelfth-century panels could have come from another church in or near Troyes,¹³ an explanation favored by Pastan.¹⁴ In support of this origin she cites a document dated 17 December 1791, which states that certain furnishings from the palace chapel of the counts of Champagne – the Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne – were reserved from an auction of the belongings of that church during the early years of the French Revolution and were sent to the cathedral.¹⁵ In particular, three stained-glass windows from the Saint-Étienne axial chapel dedicated to the Virgin were to be excluded from the sale. In all probability the panels from Saint-Étienne that

were stored in the choir remained in the cathedral, and it was there that Arnaud made his careful engravings, work so precise that surely he was copying them on a bench rather than from their installation in a window.

As Grodecki has demonstrated, several of the twelfth-century panels were still in Troyes Cathedral in the mid-nineteenth century. The scene of *St. Nicholas Chosen as a Bishop* (now at the Victoria and Albert Museum) was engraved by Arnaud c.1843, and its border was traced by Juste Lisch c.1850.¹⁶ In 1891 Abbé Coffinet found a panel from the *Life of St. Nicholas* series (now in the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris) in a “grenier” of the cathedral.¹⁷ This discovery takes on added significance when considered in light of a panel from the *Public Life of Christ* series, now in the Glencairn Museum, which was acquired from the dealer Lucien Demotte, who obtained it from the so-called “Garnier” collection (the similarity between Demotte’s “Garnier” and the “grenier” cited by Abbé Coffinet was exactly the type of disguise Demotte frequently used to cover up his transactions).¹⁸ Four additional panels, including another one from the series illustrating the *Public Life of Christ*, were given to the Victoria and Albert Museum by J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913) in 1909;¹⁹ these were still in Troyes as late as 1895, when they were photographed by Gustave Lancelot.²⁰ It seems that by the First World War, the twelfth-century panels, most likely orphans from the Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne, were dispersed from Troyes into private and public collections in France and England. Following the war, and commensurate with the growing American interest in medieval stained glass, these panels began to be collected in the United States.

Iconographic program: Evidence suggests that the *Dormition of the Virgin* series, from which the Museum’s glass originates, was once part of an extensive glazing program. Extant panels together with nineteenth-century descriptions, engravings, and early photographs have allowed scholars to hypothesize the subjects of at least six different windows. In addition to the *Dormition of the Virgin* window, surviving glass testifies to windows depicting the *Temptations of Christ*, the *Public Life of Christ* (which included the fragmentary scene of *Christ Healing the Paralytic* [4/fig. 1] on loan to The Metropolitan Museum of Art),²¹ and a *Life of St. Nicholas*.²² Little has added to this group a *Typological Crucifixion*, of which only the Crucifixion scene is known from a photograph of a now lost panel.²³ To this Little added three circular panels mentioned by Arnaud that depict the *Sacrifice of Isaac*, *Moses and the Burning Bush*, and *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, which Little postulated functioned as typological commentary.²⁴ Furthermore, a Creation window, which accommodates three scenes illustrating the *Creation of Man and Woman*, *God’s Rebuke to Adam*, and the *Expulsion from Eden*, was noted by Arnaud but is no longer extant.²⁵

The complexities of the iconographic program suggested by this group of panels do not indicate a modest program typical of a parish church but rather an impressive scale eminently appropriate for Count Henry’s palace chapel.²⁶ Ground plans of Saint-Étienne (4/fig. 2) show the Lady Chapel as an extended axial chapel with several apertures (probably seven), although the southwestern opening is blocked by an additional chapel. One could postulate that the lost Crucifixion might have been placed in the axial window, flanked on the north side by a *Tree of Jesse* window and on the south side by a hypothetical window depicting the *Infancy of Christ*.²⁷ Undoubtedly the *Dormition of the Virgin* was also included in this glazing program within the Lady Chapel.

Style and date: The painterly technique employed by this master led Grodecki to postulate that he was trained as a manuscript illuminator.²⁸ His reasoning was based on the exceptional manner in which the grisaille is built up in layers so that the actual surface of the glass resembles a relief. He further notes three tones of mat in addition to the trace paint, indications in his mind of manuscript rather than stained-glass technique.

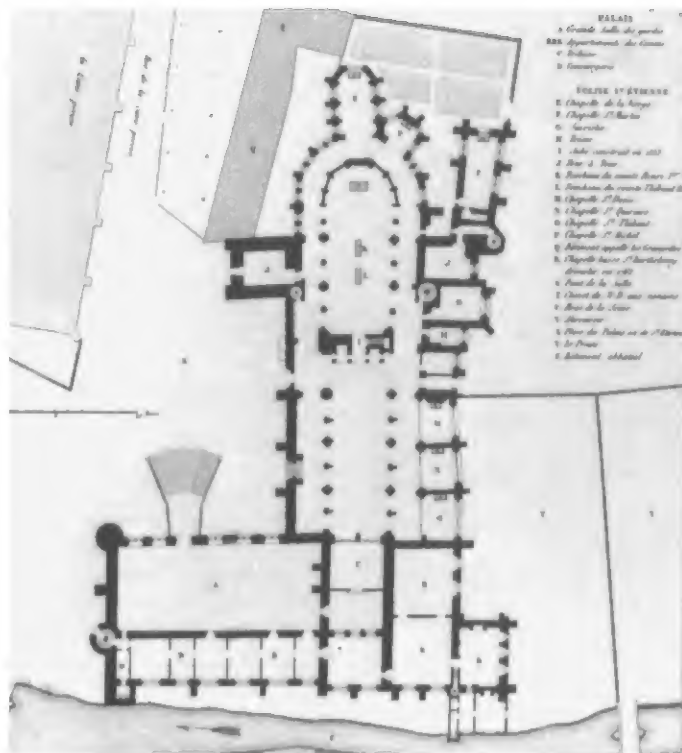
However, the discovery of glass fragments from Vézelay dating from about 1180 has compelled us to greatly revise Grodecki’s original theory viewing the Troyes Master as



4/fig. 1. Christ Healing the Paralytic, from a *Public Life of Christ* window. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c.1170. Anonymous Loan, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (L49.22)

an isolated phenomenon and explaining his stylistic excellence as deriving from manuscript illumination. These fragments indicate, instead, that this method of painting was common to other stained-glass centers in northeastern France.²⁹ It is possible, moreover, to regard the Troyes Master as the culmination of a stylistic movement that began in stained glass, with, for example, the *Typological Crucifixion* (before 1147) at Châlons-sur-Marne and, later, with widespread adherents at Vézelay (about 1180) as well as at the former Abbey Church of Saint-Pierre at Orbais (about 1190). All of these expressions can be seen as manifestations of the formation of that classicizing moment in Northern European art referred to as "the Style 1200." Based on stylistic comparisons with other monuments in Champagne, Grodecki's latest dating for this series, about 1170–80, seems consistent with the style of the *Dormition of the Virgin* window.³⁰

What is exceptional in this painter's technique is that he applies the darkest tone of mat like trace, in brush strokes placed close together. This is an unusual approach for glass painting, and one that is employed by the illuminators of volumes one and three of the Bible of the Capuchins (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. lat. 16743, 16745), which Grodecki believed may have had its origin in the Champagne. (He proposed, in fact, that one of these manuscript painters and the Troyes Master were the same person.)³¹ As Little and Pastan have argued, however, it is no longer necessary to see them as synonymous; we can now recognize that the Troyes Master was, on his own merits, a glass painter of exceptional ability.³²



4/fig. 2. Floor plan, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Troyes

Bibliography: New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Archives, The Joseph and Ernst Brummer Records, nos. P14099, P14100, and P14107; New York 1968, no. 182, publishes the panel for the first time; New York 1970, vol. 1, pp. 198–99, discusses the ornamentation of panels from the Dormition window; Grodecki 1973, p. 197; Caviness 1973, pp. 206–9, fig. 2, observes that the panel contains medieval leads and attempts to reconstruct the original composition of the piece; Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, p. 7, associates the panel with two other panels, all surrounding a lost scene of the *Dormition of the Virgin*; Little 1979, p. 23, announces the Brummer gift of No. 4 to the Museum; Little 1981, pp. 122–24, fig. 5, reconstructs the Dormition window as similar to that at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin and links the style with Byzantine art; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 94, provides basic information and bibliography; [Husband, Little, and Shepard 1987, p. 73]; Pastan 1989, no. 11 and p. 352 fig. 9, adds the panel from Queens College to the Dormition series and attributes the twelfth-century glass from Troyes to the Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne; CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 240, lists No. 4 as among this group of dispersed panels and accepts Pastan's suggestion that they might have originated at Saint-Étienne; [New York 1999, pp. 68–69 (illustration is reversed)].

Panel with Censing Angels

Rectangular (almost square) panel: 47 × 44.1 cm (18½ × 17⅜ in.)

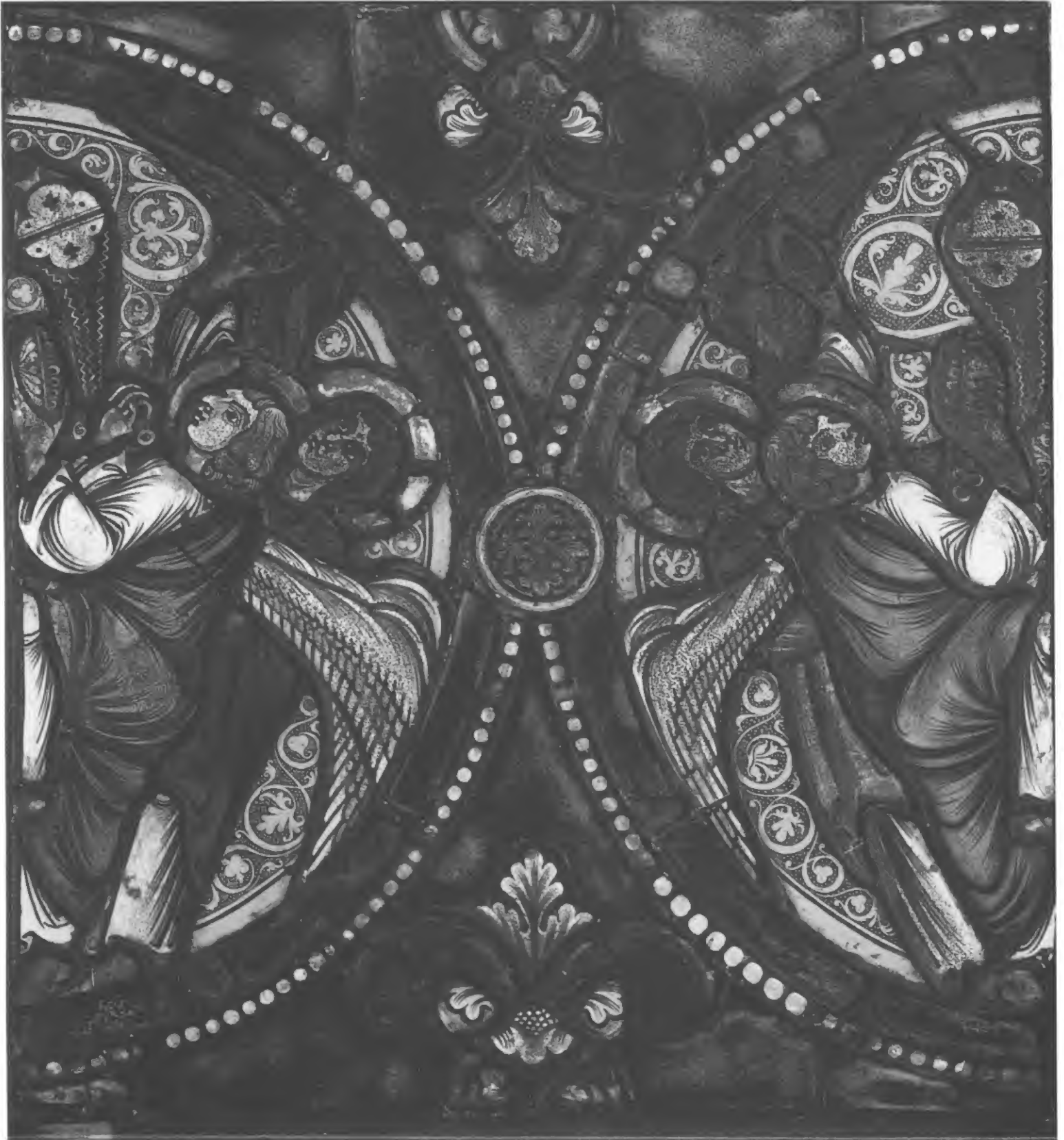
Gift of Ella Brummer, in memory of her husband, Ernest Brummer, 1997 (1977.346.1)

Department of Medieval Art

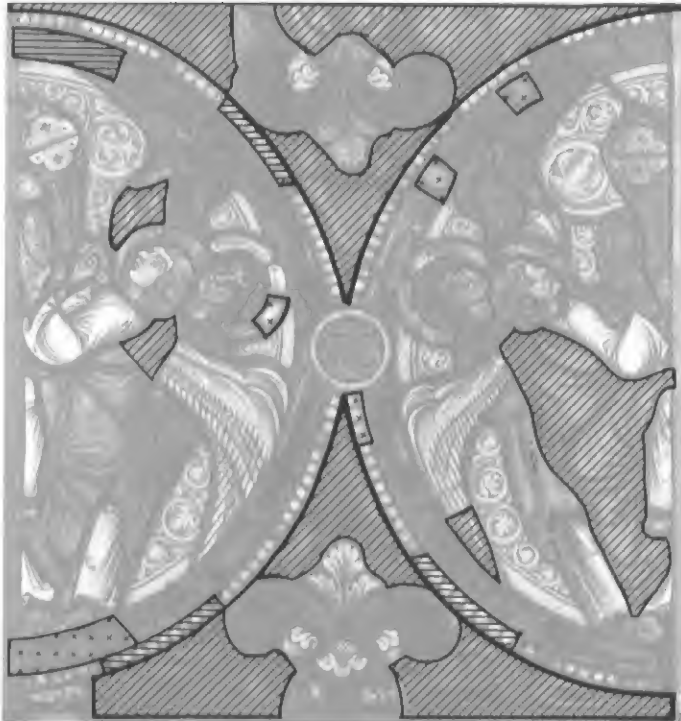
Ill. nos. 4, 4/a, 4/1, 4/figs. 1–5

Description: Two adorsed half circles are joined by a golden yellow circular boss painted with a foliate pattern in the form of a Greek cross. Each half circle is bordered by a white pearled fillet inside of which is a ruby red fillet. In the interstices between the two half circles are two foliate bouquets, each of which issues from a half medallion of yellow glass. The bouquets themselves are composed of pairs of symmetrical brownish yellow leaves that curl outward and back in upon themselves, with flanking small blue leaves; at top and at middle are trefoil leaves in white. The ground outside the half circles is composed of emerald green glass, all but two small fragments of which are modern.

Inside each half circle two angels swing golden censers. At right, the front angel, with a red nimbus and white wings, wears a reddish-brown mantle over a rich aquamarine tunic. His flesh is soft pink and his long hair is painted as tight bunches of curls. He holds a navette with five incense balls; the censer is footed. The rear angel,



4. Panel with Censing Angels from a *Dormition of the Virgin* window. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c.1170.
Gift of Ella Brummer, in memory of her husband, Ernest Brummer, 1977 (1977.346.1)



4/a. Restoration chart

with a yellow nimbus and green wings, wears a light green mantle over a white tunic. His flesh is soft pink and his hair is painted in tight curls. He raises his hand in acclamation. The background inside the half circle is painted with a tight rinceaux pattern on a rich blue ground. At left, the front angel, with a red nimbus and white wings, wears a murrey mantle over an aquamarine tunic. His flesh is soft pink, and his long hair is painted as tight bunches of curls. He holds a white navette with seven incense balls; the censer is footed. The rear angel, with a yellow nimbus and green wings, wears a green mantle over a white tunic. His flesh is soft pink, and his hair is painted in tight curls. He raises his hand in acclamation. The background inside the half circle is painted with a tight rinceaux pattern on a rich blue ground.

Condition: A number of missing pieces of glass were replaced in 1978 during the last restoration. The glass used was as close as possible to the original color, including the replacement of the murrey mantle of one of the angels. Only two pieces of the original green background remain (4/1). The green fill selected is slightly yellowed to distinguish it from the original. Some medieval leads exist in this panel and, as can be seen in the restoration chart, surround the medieval pieces.

Composition: Both Grodecki and Little have commented on the composition of this and another panel with tangent arcs from the same window, now in the Treasury at the cathedral at Troyes.³³ Two additional comparative examples include a single half circle with mourning Apostles and foliate ornament now in the Glencairn



4/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration

Museum (4/fig. 3) and a similar half circle in the Godwin-Ternbach Museum at Queens College.³⁴ Grodecki believed that the opposing half-circle arrangement, as seen in the Metropolitan's panel, was the result of a restoration and that the foliate ornament between the hemispheres belonged at the outer corners of circular scenes, as in the Glencairn piece. Although the ornament is varied in each of these surviving panels, it is made up of identical bits of foliage and probably incorporates parts of the original border. Complex arrangements such as the opposing half circles of this panel do not appear in stained glass until the thirteenth century. Little has argued persuasively (based on Arnaud's description) that the window was originally composed of circles, semicircles, and lozenges similar in arrangement to the Dormition window of c.1200 at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin at Saint-Quentin.³⁵ Pastan has used the two hemispherical panels depicting mourning apostles, now in Queens and at Bryn Athyn, to reconstruct a window measuring 50.8 centimeters in width (less than two feet) and 153 centimeters in height (nearly five feet), dimensions that conform to the narrow axial chapel lancets of Saint-Étienne.³⁶ Whatever the initial arrangement may have been, the actual panel depicting the *Assumption of the Virgin* must have been either a square or a lozenge, as Arnaud implied, surrounded by smaller lobes with censuring angels, similar to those in the Troyes Cathedral Treasury and at Wellesley College.³⁷ Such enlargement of the most important scene was common to twelfth-century windows.³⁸

Ornament: The ornament in this Troyes series is especially rich, and Grodecki has noted the sculptural quality

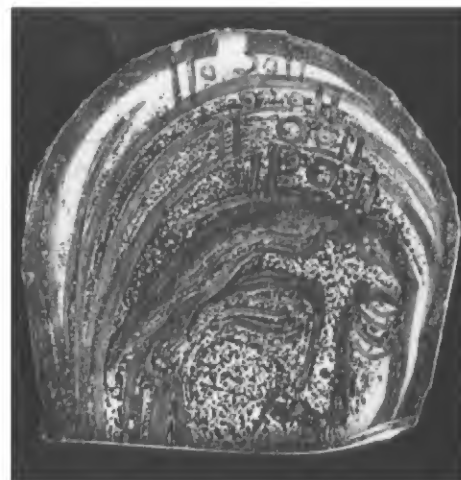
of its modeling.³⁹ Thin strips of ornamental borders are characteristic of all the panels of this twelfth-century Troyes series; they can still be seen in the *Temptation of Christ* panel and the *Life of Saint Nicholas* scenes in London. Similar ornamental strips were also present in the Dormition window, as evidenced by the Glencairn and Godwin-Ternbach panels. Although painted fillets are common to twelfth-century glass, they are particularly elaborate in Champagne, as seen in the Relics of St. Stephen panels dating to c.1155 at Châlons-sur-Marne. The tendency at Troyes thus appears to be a manifestation of a local tradition.

Iconography: The depiction of the legend of the death of the Virgin puts this glazing cycle attributed to Saint-Étienne at Troyes within the mainstream of late twelfth-century iconography, stretching from the legendary gift of



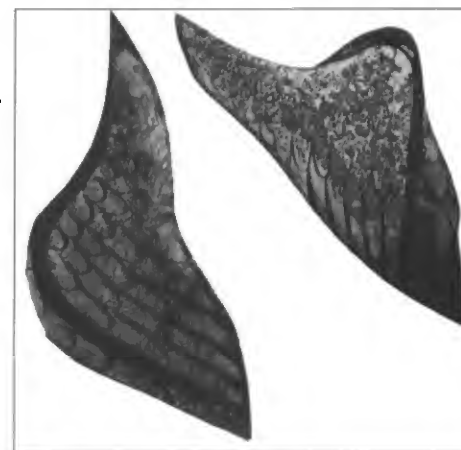
4/fig. 3. Mourning Apostles from a *Dormition of the Virgin* window. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c.1170. Glencairn Museum, Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

4/fig. 4. Fragment, Head of the Virgin from a *Dormition of the Virgin* window. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c.1170. Gift of Ella Brummer, in memory of her husband, Ernest Brummer, 1977 (1977.346.17)



such a window by Abbot Suger to the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris to the Dormition window at the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice at Angers (c. 1180) and the Dormition window at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin (c. 1200).⁴⁰ The surviving elements include the *Gathering of the Apostles* (Troyes Cathedral Treasury), the *Apostles Mourning the Death of the Virgin* (Glencairn and Godwin-Ternbach museums), and *Censing Angels* (Metropolitan Museum, Wellesley College Museum, and included in the Troyes Cathedral Treasury panel; see **Related material**). In addition, fragments given to the Metropolitan Museum by Mrs. Brummer testify to the scene of the *Death of the Virgin*, as well as additional angels (4/figs. 4 and 5).⁴¹ This

4/fig. 5. Fragments, Angel Wings. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne (?), c.1170. Gift of Ella Brummer, in memory of her husband, Ernest Brummer, 1977 (1977.346.14, 18)



proliferation of censing angels invites comparisons with the window composition at Saint-Quentin, where a total of seven scenes are devoted to the *Angelic Hosts*.⁴² The Museum's paired angels within half circles suggest that the scene of the *Assumption of the Virgin* may have been depicted within a lozenge-shaped panel accompanied by four attached lobes containing similar angels. To this end, the window may well have been an early example of a *Glorification of the Virgin*, with the crowned Mary enthroned with Christ at the lancet's summit.⁴³

Photographic reference: Negative 215175; negative 41697 shows the panel in its pre-restoration state.

NOTES

The editors are grateful to Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Charles T. Little for their assistance with this entry.

1. [For the collection of Ernst and Ella Brummer, see Bruzelius and Meredith 1991, pp. 6–7.]
2. [New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Archives, The Joseph and Ernst Brummer Records, nos. P14099, P14100, and P14107. Brummer also bought the panel with an angel from the same series now in the Wellesley College Museum (see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 60) from Lion, but in 1930.]
3. These panels include series devoted to the *Dormition of the Virgin*, the *Temptations of Christ*, the *Public Life of Christ*, and a *Life of St. Nicholas*. For an overview of the extant panels, see Grodecki 1977, pp. 140–42. For their first documentation in a nineteenth-century source, see Arnaud 1843, pp. 151 and 174–80. His description includes a Creation cycle and other Old Testament scenes, as well as a *Life of the Virgin*. Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) saw and described these windows again in 1843 (prior to the restoration of Louis-Germain Vincent-Larcher in 1845) and again, after restoration, in 1864. See Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6111, fols. 117–119v. These two early accounts can be compared with Fichot 1894, vol. 3, pp. 338–60.
4. See, for example, Little 1981, p. 119.
5. Pastan 1989, pp. 357–65.
6. See Grodecki 1977, pp. 294–95, and Arnaud 1843, pp. 27–47.
7. “Stained-glass window of the cathedral: taken from a chapel in the ambulatory.” Arnaud 1843, after p. 180, as noted in Pastan 1989, p. 340 n. 8.
8. See *ibid.*, pp. 357–58 and 364.
9. On the chronology of Troyes Cathedral, see Roserot de Melin 1966–70; Bongartz 1979; [and overview in Pastan 1994, pp. 215–16.]
10. Grodecki 1977, pp. 140–47.
11. Caviness 1973, pp. 207–8, and Little 1981, pp. 122–23.
12. Pastan 1986, pp. 4–5, 63–4, and 79–81.
13. The reuse of glass from one church in another is not unknown in the Middle Ages. The chapel of the hospital at Angers, built in the twelfth century, now contains glass from various periods. Two panels, dating to about 1200, probably come from a different church in the region, but they must have been imported early as they are mentioned in the oldest documents of the hospital. See CV France, *Recensement II*, p. 299, fig. 277.
14. Pastan 1989, pp. 388–472; [see also Troyes 1999, no. 41].
15. Pastan 1989, pp. 364–65. [For an overview of the fate of objects from Saint-Étienne during the French Revolution, see Nicole Hany-Longuespé in Troyes 1999, pp. 33–35.]
16. Paris, *Médiathèque du Patrimoine et de l'Architecture*, no. 27, p. 180. See Grodecki 1973, p. 583 n. 5, fig. 239b, [and Elizabeth Pastan in CV France V-1 (forthcoming)].
17. Lafond 1957, p. 44 n. 4. For the panel now in Paris, see Grodecki 1977, p. 295.
18. CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 105, and Demotte 1929, no. 3. [Shortly before Hayward's death, Marilyn Beaven pointed out that the “Garnier” cited might have referred to Paul Garnier, whose collection, including eight lots of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century stained glass, was sold in Paris at the Hôtel Drouot, 18–23 December, 1916. See Garnier Sale 1916, lots 404–11.]
19. See Lafond 1957, pp. 44–55.
20. See *ibid.*, p. 44 n. 6; [on Lancelot, see Troyes 1981].
21. Metropolitan Museum accession number L.49.22 [(New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Archives, The Joseph and Ernst Brummer Records, no. P11043)]. This fragmentary scene could represent two incidents recounted in the Gospels. One scene describes the healing of the palsied man, during which Christ says, “Arise, take up thy bed, and go into thy house” (Matthew 9:6–8, Mark 2:10–12, and Luke 5:24); see Grodecki 1973, p. 191. The other scene involves the healing of the lame man at the pool of Bethesda (John 5:1–9); see Bober 1975, pp. 199–200. This fragment is a tour-de-force of glass-painting technique and must be by the hand of the master of a large workshop. The style is exceptional in its graphic precision, clarity of composition, and sensitivity to color. And while the master is certainly the most accomplished of the painters in this twelfth-century series, this style is not unique (see *Style and date* above). See also Little 1981, pp. 124, 126, and fig. 10; Grodecki 1977, pp. 119–47; and Pastan 1986, pp. 345–55 and 367–72.
22. CV France, *Recensement IV*, pp. 239–40, lists seventeen known panels (the panel now in Denver [CV US, *Checklist III*, p. 124] is more properly attributed to the cathedral). See also the inventory in Pastan 1989, pp. 340–43.
23. Little 1981, pp. 121–22 and fig. 3.
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 121–22, and Arnaud 1843, p. 180. [See also Pastan 1986, pp. 81–84, who suggests these panels may date to the fourteenth century].
25. Arnaud 1843, p. 181. [See also Bruzelius and Meredith 1991, pp. 178–80, for the suggestion that one of these panels (which Arnaud identified as thirteenth-century) can be associated with a thirteenth-century panel now at Duke University.]
26. At the time the stained glass was made, Saint-Étienne supported seventy-two canons, more than twice as many as the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Sens, the head church of the archdiocese. For additional discussion of the wealth of Saint-Étienne, see Pastan 1986, pp. 357–61 and 365–67.
27. For the plan of Saint-Étienne, see Arnaud 1843, facing p. 25, as noted in Pastan 1986, pp. 367–68 and fig. 16, as well as an anonymous sketch published in *ibid.*, fig. 17; [Anne Prache in Troyes 1999, pp. 19–21. See also Pastan in CV France V-1 (forthcoming), where she argues that the axial chapel at Saint-Étienne had a *Tree of Jesse* in the axial window, appropriate for the chapel's dedication to the Virgin and possibly a precedent for the cathedral].
28. See Grodecki 1973, p. 200.
29. On the Vézelay fragments, see Little 1981, pp. 124–26, and [Saulnier and Stratford 1984, p. 155].
30. [See Troyes 1999, no. 41, where this style is not only associated with the vestiges of glass at Vézelay, but also the now lost wall paintings of the apsidal chapel of the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quiriac at Provins, cat. no. 40.]
31. Grodecki 1963, vol. 1, pp. 129–41. [See also Patricia Stirnemann and Nicole Hany-Longuespé in Troyes 1999, no. 41, who maintain this attribution.]
32. For a revision of Grodecki's view of the Troyes Master as an illuminator, see Little 1981, pp. 124–25, and Pastan 1989, pp. 347–55.
33. Grodecki 1973, pp. 197–98 and Little 1981, pp. 122–24.
34. See CV US, *Checklist III*, p. 272.
35. See Little 1981, pp. 122–24.
36. Pastan 1989, pp. 355–57, figs. 7 and 8. See also the initial proposal for the window's organization in New York 1982, pp. 105–7.
37. Grodecki 1973, fig. 6, and Little 1981, fig. 6. See also Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 7–9.
38. In Champagne this convention was used with the *Typological Crucifixion* window at Châlons-sur-Marne before 1147 and the *Dormition of the Virgin* window at the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice at Angers c.1180; see Grodecki 1977, pp. 121, and 277, respectively.
39. Grodecki 1973, p. 197, and Grodecki 1977, p. 142.
40. For Abbot Suger's window, see Verdier 1980, pp. 29–31; for Angers, see Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 20–21; for Saint-Quentin, see CV France, *Recensement I*, p. 167, [and Shortell 2000, pp. 307–19].
41. In addition to No. 4, Ella Brummer donated over forty fragments (1977.346.4–45) from this series to the Museum [New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Archives, The Joseph and

Ernst Brummer Records, nos. P14099, P14100, and P14107]. These include pieces with wings, pieces of drapery, damascened backgrounds and foliage as well as two heads. The most important of these appears to be a portrayal of the dead Virgin (see 4/fig. 4; not illustrated are the fragments of rinceaux in MMA negative 212908, acc. nos. 1977.346.22–30). The collection histories for the other panels surviving from this series are summarized in CV France, *Recensement IV*, pp. 239–40.

42. See Little 1981, pp. 123–24 and fig. 7.

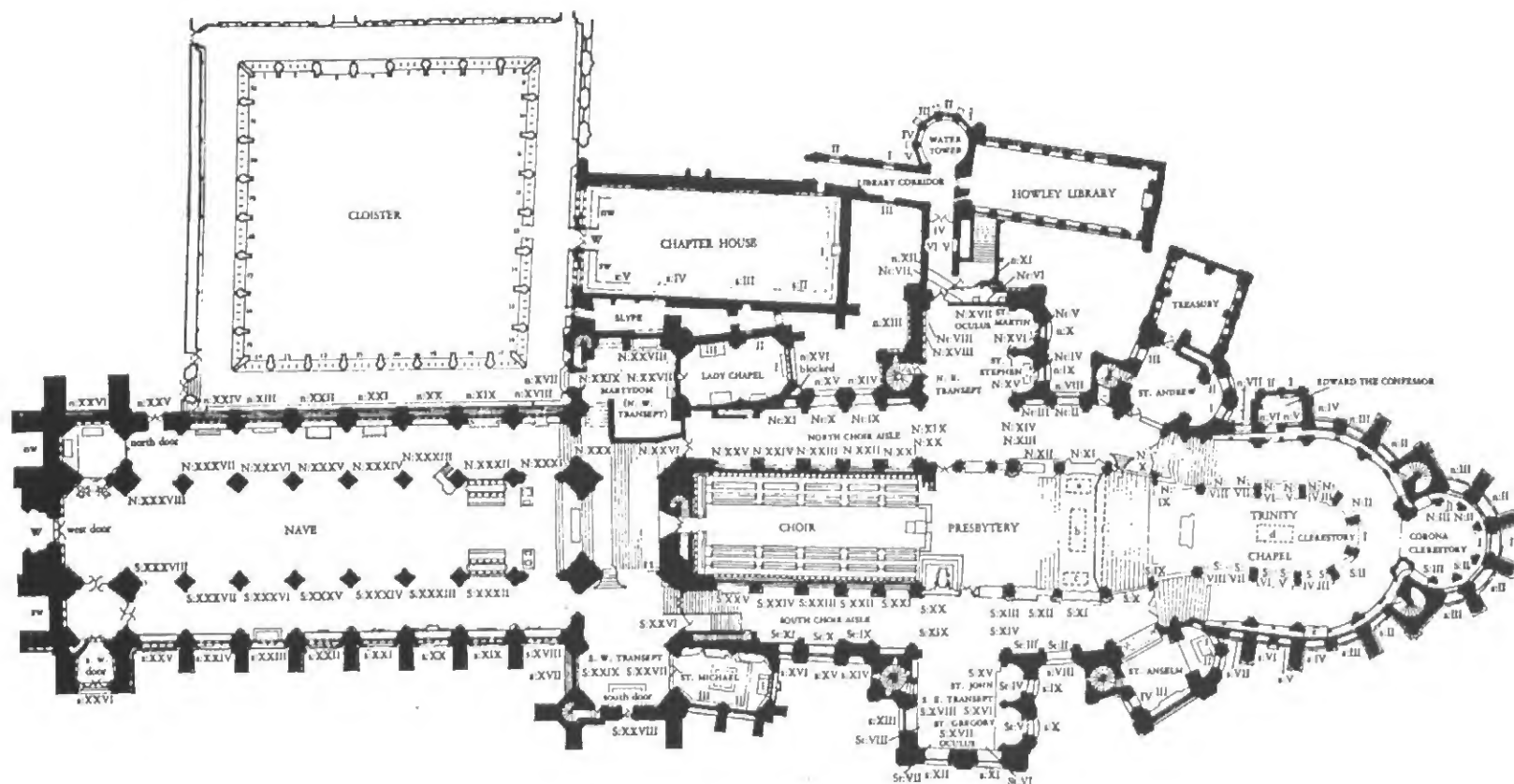
43. The window would also have been contemporary with the influential tympanum on the west portal at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Senlis; see Brouillette 1981 and Sauerländer 1972, pp. 406–8.

5. PANEL FROM A HAGIOGRAPHIC WINDOW England, Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral c.1180

History of the glass: This panel can be traced through its various owners back to the first decade of the twentieth century, when a considerable amount of stained glass in the restorer's shop of the cathedral at Canterbury, considered unworthy of replacement in the cathedral, was sold to various private collectors.¹ The panel's first private owner, Dr. J. Francis Grayling (1853–1923) of Sittingbourne

(Kent), mentioned in his 1913 book on the churches of Kent that some of the glass of Canterbury Cathedral was lost due to weather and other circumstances.² Grayling knew first hand about these "other circumstances," as his own private collection included several pieces from the cathedral.³ In all probability, the bulk of this glass dispersal occurred after 1908, when Samuel Caldwell, Jr. took over the restorer's shop at the cathedral.⁴ Following Grayling's death in 1923, the Museum's panel was inherited by his stepson Bertram Christian of London, who in 1940 sold the glass to Kirsopp Lake of Wayland, Massachusetts. At his father's death in 1954, Gerard Kirsopp Lake (d. 1972) inherited the panel, and it passed to his daughter Lydia of Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1972, who, in turn, sold it to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1984.

Original location: The twelfth-century construction at Canterbury began soon after the fire of 1174 and was completed in 1184. It included the eastern transept, the three bays to the east, and the choir (5/fig. 1).⁵ Although Madeline Caviness has convincingly linked the Museum's figure stylistically with those at Canterbury Cathedral, its original location in the church remains speculative. The panel belongs to none of the well-known series. It is much



5/fig. 1. Floor plan, Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral (after CV Great Britain, II, p. XXXIX)



5/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration

too small to have been included in the choir clerestory (1178–80), and the iconography of the figure is wrong not only for the rose windows in the eastern transepts depicting *Moses and Synagogue* in the north and *Christ and Ecclesia* in the south (c.1180–90) but also for the choir triforium (c.1180).⁶ Nor is the subject of the panel cited in any of the texts that refer to the typological windows located in the choir aisle windows (c.1179–80). The medieval chronicler of the cathedral, Gervase, does not even mention an altar dedicated to St. Lawrence.⁷

Caviness speculates that the only possible location that fits the size and subject of the panel would be the Chapel

of St. John the Evangelist (sIX), located in the southeast transept and dated to 1180, or the window opposite (sXIII), which did not contain part of the typological program; the original subjects in both of these windows are unknown. In addition, these windows, as Caviness observes, have straight bar armatures that could accommodate a rectangular panel such as this.⁸

Style and date: Caviness is persuasive in her association of this figure – in its style and technique – with the work of the earliest painters in the cathedral's north choir aisle and northeast transept. She specifically sees both the mannered pose of the figure and the lively counterpoint between the sweeping folds of the drapery and the angularity of the bands on the costume's hem and amice, particularly the taut end of the stole, as evidence that the painter of this panel is the same one responsible for the sixth window of the typological series (nXI), including the *Parable of the Sower*, as well as the figures of *Moses and Synagogue* in the rose above (NXVII).⁹ It is on the basis of these affinities that the panel should be dated c. 1180.

Bibliography: *Report of the President 1940–41*, p. 18; Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 10–11, publishes the panel while part of a Massachusetts private collection; CV Great Britain II, appendix I, pp. 312–13, pl. 219, and figs. 591 and 591a, offers a detailed catalogue entry including a restoration chart; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 67, provides basic information and bibliography; *MMA Annual Report 1985*, p. 44, notes the purchase of the panel by the Museum; Hayward 1988, p. 15; CV US, *Checklist III*, p. 266, lists the glass as an acquisition of the Metropolitan Museum and publishes its post-restoration state; Leningrad 1990, pp. 38–39, no. 15; [New York 1999, pp. 7 and 76–77].

The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence

Rectangular panel: 65.2 × 32.5 cm (25 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 12 $\frac{13}{16}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1984 (1984.232)

Ill. nos. 5, 5/a, 5/1, 5/fig. 1

Description: A tonsured male figure with a red halo is shown in three-quarters view toward the right, with his hands joined in supplication. He wears a bright yellow amice, a white stole, a brilliant murrey chasuble, a bright, warm green dalmatic with a brilliant yellow hem, and a white alb; the ornamental details on his vestments are composed of large raised jewels set between rows of smaller stones. He sits on a yellow seat atop a cool, light grayish blue throne streaked with pink. Figure and throne are framed by an arched aedicula. Slender white colonettes with bright, cold blue bases and yellow acanthus capitals support a white arch and murrey brick wall; the brickwork outside the colonettes is green. Streaky red

flames rise from a fire beneath the figure and lick about his feet. Bands of cold blue smoke, streaked with pink and painted with wavy lines, flare out above the seat of the throne, around the saint's shoulders, and gather into a column above his head. The ground behind the figure is a deep, warm blue.

Inscription: S: LORV̄S ORA P[RO] NOBIS (St. Lawrence pray for us)

Condition: The current panel was heavily restored following its acquisition by the Museum. At the time of its purchase, the edges of the panel were confused by many stopgaps (5/1). The nimbus and amice had been replaced during an earlier releading. The head also was not original to the piece, but rather a medieval stopgap from Canterbury – possibly from the same glazing program – inserted during a previous restoration. In 1987 the panel was restored in the Greenland Studios in New York. It was releaded, the distortions around the neck and shoulders were corrected, and the glass was cleaned to remove corrosion crusts on the back. Surviving portions of lateral brickwork, as well as a section in the upper-right spandrel, suggested the current restoration of the architectural setting. The added inscription was based upon a triangular fragment painted in reserve containing the letter *P* and the lower portion of



5/a.
Restoration
chart



5. *The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, England, Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral, c.1180

another letter, possibly an A, that was included among the melange of fragments at the panel's top. This fragment, in turn, was incorporated into the inscription. Overall, the blue and red glass is pitted on the outer surface. There are traces of backpainting on the dalmatic and the alb.

Color and technique: The reddish and pinkish gray blues used for the throne and the smoke are extraordinary examples of streaky red glass. In this regard they are not unlike the portrayal of flames in the depiction of *Lot Escaping from Sodom* (nXV) from the north choir aisle at Canterbury.¹⁰ The darker tone of mat is applied in strokes, both in the beard and on the vestments.

Iconography: The identification of the saint in this panel as the deacon Lawrence might be doubted, as neither an inscription nor a record of the subject is preserved at Canterbury. Moreover, the figure's chasuble is unusual for a deacon; his stole, however, is depicted correctly over the arm instead of around the neck, as a priest would wear it.¹¹ Based on the iconography of the panel, specifically by the way in which the figure sits, impervious to the flames and the smoke that attack him on three levels, Caviness has convincingly identified the figure as St. Lawrence, a third-century archdeacon. The legend of St. Lawrence recounted by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Golden Legend* (c.1260) describes how the saint conquered five external fires by three fires in his heart, "by which he moderated all external fire by cooling it, and surpassed it with the greater heat of his ardor."¹² Drawing from the writings of the early Church fathers, St. Augustine and the bishop Maximus, Jacobus de Voragine portrays St. Lawrence as a man ignited by faith, by an impassioned love of Christ, and by the veritable knowledge of God.¹³ As Caviness has pointed out, the independent texts of early writers that informed the *Golden Legend* might well have been known in the twelfth century at such an important and erudite center as Canterbury. It is worth noting that the portrayal of the saint in such a symbolic, rather than narrative, fashion does not appear elsewhere.¹⁴

Photographic reference: The panel was photographed upon its entrance into the Museum's collection, negative 234168. Negative 253435 shows the panel's post-restoration state.

NOTES

1. See Madeline Caviness in CV Great Britain II, appendix I, pp. 309–10.
2. Grayling 1913, p. 15, quoted in CV Great Britain II, appendix I, p. 309.
3. See *ibid.*, pp. 309–17.
4. Caldwell's activities as a restorer as well as a dealer in Canterbury glass are described at length in Caviness 1977b, pp. 13–22.
5. For the history of the twelfth-century construction at Canterbury, see *ibid.*, pp. 23–55, and CV Great Britain II, p. 7.
6. See Caviness 1977b, p. 154. For the rose windows in the eastern transepts, see also CV Great Britain II, pp. 25–29, 61.
7. See Caviness 1977b, p. 154, and CV Great Britain II, p. 313.

8. See *ibid.*, pp. 148 and 313.
9. For a discussion of the style of this painter, see *ibid.*, pp. 119–20. For illustrations, see *ibid.*, pls. 10 and 92–93.
10. See Caviness 1977b, color pl. I, and CV Great Britain II, color pl. V and pp. 88 and 95–96.
11. Although a deacon usually wears a dalmatic without a chasuble, there are rare instances in which deacons are shown vested with a chasuble; see *ibid.*, pp. 312–13 n. 1.
12. Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 2, pp. 72–74.
13. See *ibid.*, pp. 63–74.
14. CV Great Britain II, p. 313. For a general discussion of the iconography of St. Lawrence, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 789.

6. PORTION OF AN ORNAMENTAL WINDOW

France (Marne), Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, retrochoir tribune (?)

c.1180

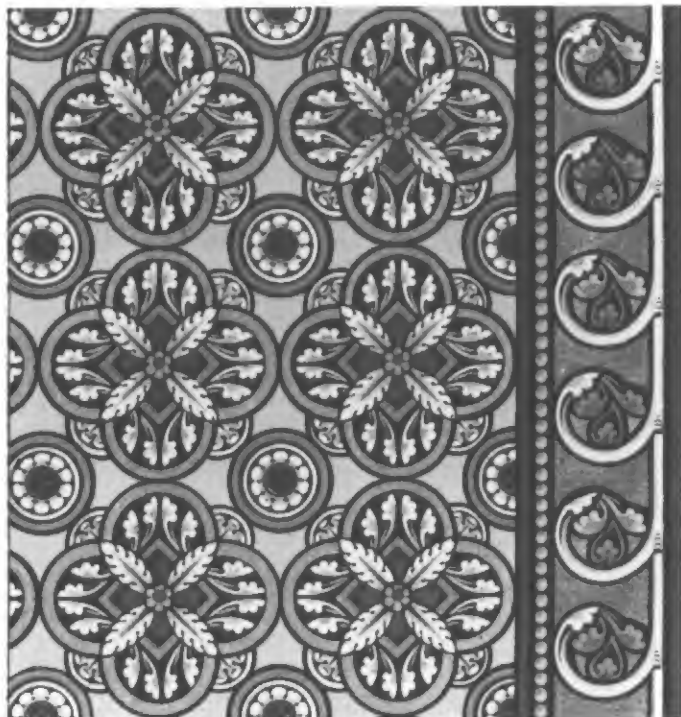
Related material: France (Marne), Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, fragments of related patterns incorporated into windows of the choir tribune.¹

History of the glass: In 1926 this large panel of ornamental stained glass was part of an important gift to the Museum from trustee George D. Pratt (1869–1935) of six pieces of twelfth- and early thirteenth-century glass. Bashford Dean (1867–1928), the Museum's curator of Arms and Armor at the time, had seen the glass in Paris, with one of two dealers, either Augustin Lambert or André Lion; at Dean's suggestion, Pratt acquired it for the Museum.²

The attribution of this ornamental-glass panel to the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi at Reims was known at the time of its acquisition by the Museum – information undoubtedly passed on by the dealer but readily confirmed by the illustration of the same ornamental pattern published by Martin and Cahier in 1841–44 (6/fig. 1).³ Despite its known provenance, no evidence has come to light regarding how or when the glass was removed from the abbey church and entered the art market.

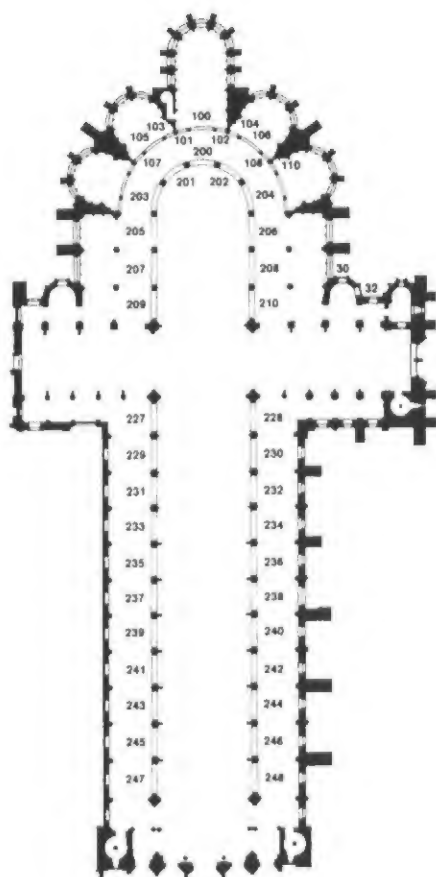
Original location: The enlargement of the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi at Reims at the end of the twelfth century by Abbot Peter of Celle (r. 1162–81) included a sumptuous new glazing in the three tiers of large windows of the expanded chevet (6/fig. 2).⁴ Unfortunately, the process of defining the original location of the ornamental windows within this glazing is hampered by the fact that the stone frames of most of the chapel windows have been renewed, so that measurements of the current openings are meaningless. If any of the ornamental glass was originally set into the chapel windows, it cannot be proven.

Although there is no documentation establishing the original location of the ornamental windows at Saint-Remi, there are other indications that they were situated

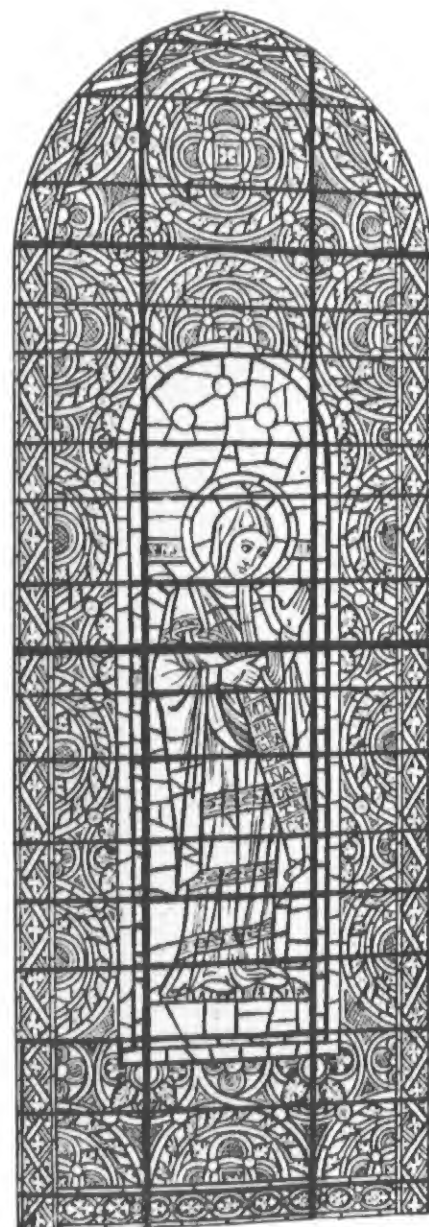


6/fig. 1. Ornament design ascribed to the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi (from Martin and Cahier 184144, *Mosaïques F*[6])

in the side bays of the tribune. In 1881 the English glass painter Nathaniel Westlake (1833–1921) published a drawing identified as “The Blessed Virgin, one of the Figures from the Annunciation in the Triforium of St. Remi, Rheims” (6/fig. 3). In his brief commentary on the



6/fig. 2. Floor plan, Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi (after CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 392)



6/fig. 3. *St. Martha*. France, Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi (from Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, pl. XXXIII)

glass at Saint-Remi, Westlake noted the presence of the Crucifixion in the axial bay as well as pendant figures he misidentified as the Virgin (actually St. Martha) and the Archangel Gabriel (St. Agnes). Moreover, he observed that these two figures were surrounded by ornamental glass that he described as “semi-grisaille [in which] a great proportion of the design is in white, decorated with linear ornament.”⁵ In Westlake’s illustration of the glass, the painted lobes around the central circle of the ornament are scored with crosshatching embellished with an incised dot in the center of each lozenge, a motif identical to the stopgap pieces inserted in the central medallion of the Museum’s panel (see *Condition* below). Westlake’s drawing further shows that the panels containing the figures of “the Virgin” and “Gabriel” are crowned with the outline of a round-headed window considerably smaller than the pointed window frame of the Gothic choir in which they were observed. It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore,

that they were inserted in the tribune from another location prior to Westlake's visit. Indeed, Madeline Caviness has pointed out that the ornament and the figures should not be considered integral to one another.⁶ It may be, then, that in its twelfth-century state, the tribune windows contained only ornamental glazing as a frame for the axial image of the Crucifixion.⁷ As Anne Prache and Caviness confirm, two of the ornamental windows from Saint-Remi have survived in their entirety, and fragments of five others, including parts of the pattern stopgapped into the Museum's panel, have been incorporated into the windows of the tribune.⁸

The detailed analyses made by Prache and Caviness of the repeated campaigns of alteration, destruction, and restoration inflicted upon Saint-Remi and its glazing also allow circumstantial suggestions to be made as to how the panel might have left the abbey church. The Martin and Cahier illustration published in 1841–44 suggests that the ornamental window from which the Museum's panel originated escaped the vagaries of changing taste in the mid-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁹ An avenue for dispersal, however, might have occurred following the church's classification as a historical monument in 1842, when an extensive reordering of the windows – unsanctioned by the government – was undertaken. Galleries filled with demounted panels of glass were reportedly open to the public.¹⁰ Caviness has documented that glass from Saint-Remi was in private hands by 1884 and that the dispersal of glass from Saint-Remi was well known by the turn of the century.¹¹

Yet the state of the ornamental glass at Saint-Remi during the second half of the nineteenth century remains obscure. In fact, subsequent to its publication by Martin and Cahier, such Saint-Remi panels were neglected.¹² The general silence of writers on these windows (even including modern scholars prior to Caviness), may be due to the current, much-restored state of the glass and to the misapprehension that all or most of the windows are modern.¹³ This general attitude was reflected in the treatment of the ornamental glass during the First World War, when it was left in the windows and, consequently, severely damaged during bombardments.¹⁴ Because the panels were unprotected, fragments, such as the Museum's example, could easily have been salvaged by scavengers prior to the beginning of restoration efforts at the abbey church in 1919 and could eventually have reached the art market.¹⁵ However, the extraordinary preservation of the Museum's piece has led Caviness to suggest that it was most likely removed prior to World War I, possibly during one of the unauthorized nineteenth-century rearrangements of the church's stained glass.¹⁶

Style and date: The grid plan of this pattern (see **Composition** below) would tend to support a twelfth-century date for the Museum's panel. Also characteristic of the

twelfth century are the stylized foliage forms in the medallions. The leaves have the broad scalloped edges already seen at Troyes and at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis. The curled leaves in the lobes of the quatrefoils are repeated in all five of the other patterns published by Martin and Cahier from Saint-Remi, while the half circles with their painted fillet of scallops can be seen again in the ornament surrounding Westlake's "Annunciate" figures.¹⁷ The tribune level of the Saint-Remi choir probably dates to the decade of the 1170s, with the clerestory and vaulting completed in the first years of the 1180s. The composition and style of the Museum's panel would be consistent with a date of c.1180.¹⁸

Bibliography: Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques* F(6), illustrates a section of the original design in color, including the border; Merson 1895, p. 85, fig. 46, publishes a black and white schematic of the window pattern labeled "Grisaille et sa Bordure. (Saint-Rémi, Reims.)"; *BMMA* 1926a, p. 270, announces the gift; *BMMA* 1926b, p. 294, gives the provenance as "Church of St. Remi at Rheims"; New York 1971, no. 6; Hayward 1971–72, p. 114, briefly describes the piece and the role of ornament in early Gothic glazings; Kline 1983, pl. 128, includes the panel in her discussion of ornamental windows at Orbais; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 94, gives basic information and bibliography (and incorrectly cites Grosvenor Thomas as the dealer from whom the panel was purchased); Caviness 1990b, pp. 33, 106–7, 358, 363, and Catalogue D, R.o.5, describes the panel within the larger context of the "rémois" stained-glass workshop; CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 398; Caviness 1992b, pp. 178–94, expands the discussion of ornamental windows at Saint-Remi [reprinted in Caviness 1997].

Ornament with Foliate Quatrefoils and Half Circles

Rectangular panel with round head 113.6 × 44.4 cm (44¾ × 17½ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926 (26.218.1)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 6, 6/a, 6/figs. 1–3

Description: The medieval panel (excluding its twentieth-century setting; see **Condition** below) consists of three quatrefoil medallions set on a golden yellow ground. Each quatrefoil is bordered by a blue fillet (the lower-right portion of the top quatrefoil's fillet as well as that of the middle quatrefoil have been replaced with green glass). The indentations of each quatrefoil lobe are filled with lunette-shaped wedges of white glass painted with a tripartite foliate form in reserve. The inner lobes of the upper and lower

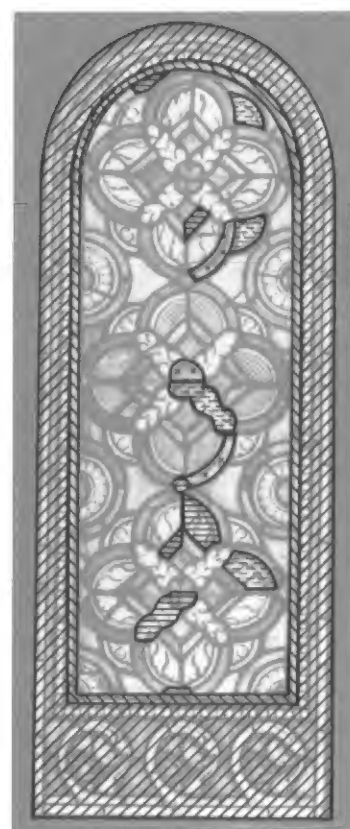


6. Portion of an ornamental window. France, Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c.1180. Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926

quatrefoils are painted in reserve with undulating leaves on a crosshatched ground. The inner lobes of the middle quatrefoil display a netting pattern of small lozenges containing tiny circles, created by removing paint with a stylus. At the center of each quatrefoil is a red canted square bordered by an emerald green fillet, within which is a blue quatrefoil, squared. Four foliate leaves painted on white glass radiate at oblique angles from the blue quatrefoil, ending at the four indentations of the outer quatrefoil. Each medallion is connected to the other both vertically and horizontally by small red canted squares. In the interstices between the medallions are four small half circles (two quadrants at bottom) of multi-petaled foliate decoration painted in reserve on white glass, with red circular centers and green fillet borders.

Condition: The panel is in a remarkably good state of preservation. On the back the glass is evenly patinated with a light gray film that has not yet begun to break into pits. The most extensive repairs have been made in the central medallion, where the four inner lobes of the quatrefoil have been replaced by white glass incised in a crosshatched pattern; these crosshatched pieces are, in fact, stopgaps taken from a different ornamental pattern (also of the twelfth century) that now surrounds what Westlake identified as "the Virgin Annunciate" (St. Martha) on the north side of the apse. In general, the paint is in good condition, and there appears to be little evidence of repainting, the exceptions being the right lobe of the upper medallion and the lower half of the right lobe of the lower medallion. In 1977 the panel was set in modern fillets, with a copy of a section of the original border inserted at the base of the lancet, for installation within a pre-existing window overlooking the West Terrace at The Cloisters; this work was done by the Greenland Studios, New York.

Composition: The original composition of the window from which the Museum's panel came is illustrated in Martin and Cahier (6/fig. 1). Following the pattern reproduced in this colored engraving, the full window would have consisted of at least three repetitions of the pattern in width, with the flanking half circles of this panel appearing as full circles in the interstices of the medallions in the middle column(s) of the design. This



6/a. Restoration chart

arrangement of medallions in groups of three within successive strata recalls the similar disposition of narrative windows of the twelfth century, among them the flanking east windows at the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers, the central east window of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, and the original west window of the Cathedral of Saint-Julien at Le Mans.¹⁹

Ornament: Only a handful of purely ornamental windows from twelfth-century France, other than those from Saint-Remi, have survived. In addition to the ornamental glass from the Abbey Church of Orbais or the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons (known only through its illustration in Martin and Cahier),²⁰ a notable example is the *Griffin Window* at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis.²¹ Whereas the Saint-Denis window combined images of griffins with ornament, the Museum's Saint-Remi panel utilizes colored and white glass to create a sumptuous mosaic not unlike a textile in the richness of its effect. Caviness has convincingly argued that the use of such non-figural geometry at Saint-Remi served as a contemplative schema of divine order and that the placement of ornamental windows surrounding the axial Crucifixion also functioned to maximize its impact.²²

The particular pattern represented by the Museum's panel alternates a quatrefoil inscribed upon a canted square with a small circle; the repetition of this motif allows the design to be read both vertically and horizontally throughout the window. With its lack of any kind of geometrical organizational grid, this pattern appears to be unique among those illustrated by Martin and Cahier as coming from the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi.²³ A similar repetition of circular medallions with smaller circles in the interstices is also to be found in the ornamental glass surrounding the figure of "the Virgin" (St. Martha) published by Westlake.²⁴

Color and technique: The bright golden yellow used as the background of this panel and the clear emerald green of the fillets surrounding not only the canted squares but also the interstitial half circles are unusual colors in French glass; they are, however, common to Rhenish windows of this period. The yellow, as seen in the twelfth-century examples from Troyes, was not uncommon in glass from Champagne, and it also appears only slightly later in ornamental windows at Soissons.²⁵ In the Museum's panel color is restricted to limited areas within the design, while the majority of the motifs are painted on white glass.

Characteristic of the twelfth century is the variety of techniques employed in this panel. The standard two shades of mat and trace, as recommended by Theophilus, are employed to define and model the foliage of the design. The stylus is used to create additional fine patterns in the mat, such as that within the quatrefoil of the central medallion.

Photography: Negative 64609 was taken soon after the panel's acquisition by the Museum. Negative 253360 shows the panel installed overlooking the West Terrace at The Cloisters. A color transparency of the panel was published in Caviness 1992b.

NOTES

1. Nineteenth-century illustrations of the pattern are found in Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques* F(6), and Merson 1895, p. 85, fig. 46. See also Caviness 1990b, p. 243, pl. 92, and p. 358, and Caviness 1992b, p. 182, fig. 6.
2. See *BMAA* 1926b, p. 294. The other glass given by Pratt at this time included border fragments from Saint-Denis (Nos. 1 and 2A, B), an early thirteenth-century border fragment (No. 17), and two Beauvaisis prophets (Nos. 22 and 23).
3. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files; Martin and Cahier, 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques* F(6), identified as "Mosaïques de S' Remi de Reims."
4. See Prache 1978, pp. 29–33 and 67–74; Caviness 1990b, pp. 21–26; and Caviness 1992b, p. 180.
5. Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, pp. 58–59, pl. XXXIII. Westlake was misled by what he read as "Ave Maria gratia plena" inscribed on "the Virgin's" scroll; the figures, in fact, are labeled Martha and Agnes. See Caviness 1990b, pp. 51–53, pls. 93–95, and 99, and Caviness 1992b, pp. 182–83.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 182 and 188.
8. Prache 1978, p. 73; Caviness 1990b, pp. 45–49, pls. 30–31; and Caviness 1992b, p. 181. See also Simon 1959, pp. 19–20.
9. Caviness 1990b, p. 28. Pierre Chastelain, one of the Maurist monks of the abbey, noted that by 1757 almost all the lower windows had been replaced with white glass, although Caviness cautions that Chastelain's claims were likely exaggerated (see Prache 1981, p. 147, and Caviness 1990b, p. 28 n. 67). Writing in 1824, Étienne-François-Xavier Povillon-Piérard stated that figures surrounded by white glass could be seen in the tribune (see Prache 1981, p. 146, and Caviness 1990b, pp. 139–40).
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 28–31, 33, and Caviness 1992b, p. 182.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 182 and 192 n. 20.
12. See Prache 1978, p. 73, and Caviness 1990b, pp. 30–33.
13. Grodecki 1977, p. 140, states that all the grisaille (i.e., ornamental) panels of the Saint-Remi tribune are modern. While most authors on Saint-Remi have concentrated their attention on the figural glass, Jacques Simon devoted considerable space in his study to the discussion of "grisaille windows" at the abbey church and to the fact that parts of six are old (see Simon 1959, pp. 18–20). Caviness 1992b, pp. 178–93, has made the ornamental glass the subject of a focused, comprehensive study.
14. On the effects of the war, see Pillet 1959, p. 4; Prache 1978, p. 61, pl. XXV, no. 52; Caviness 1990b, p. 33; and Caviness 1992b, p. 183, fig. 8.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 183. For restoration of the glass following the two World Wars, see Simon 1959, pp. 14–25.
16. Caviness 1992b, p. 183.
17. For a comparison of all the variants of Saint-Remi ornamental window patterns, see Caviness 1990b, Catalogue D, R.o.1–6. For Caviness's analysis of dating the Saint-Remi ornamental glass, see Caviness 1992b, pp. 183 and 186.
18. See Prache 1978, pp. 72–74, and Caviness 1990b, pp. 25 and 107.
19. For Poitiers, see New York 1970, vol. 2, p. 75, no. 79; for Chartres, see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 1, pl. I; for Le Mans, see Marquet n.d., p. 27.
20. On the question of this ornament recorded by Martin and Cahier, see Caviness 1990b, p. 357.

21. For the ornamental glass at the Benedictine abbey at Orbais, near Reims, see Kline 1983, pp. 48–52, 252–56, and pls. 38–40, 121–26, and Caviness 1992b, pp. 186–88. For Soissons, see Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques* F(1), (2), (4), and (8). For the *Griffin Window* at Saint-Denis, see CV France, *Études* I, pp. 122–26; Caviness 1990b, pp. 106–7; and Caviness 1992b, p. 186.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

23. Compare with Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques* F(3), (5), and (7).
24. Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, p. 59, pl. XXXIII.
25. For Soissons, see Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques* F(1), (2), and (4), and Merson 1895, p. 83, fig. 45. It is also present in the ornament from Saint-Remi published by Martin and Cahier as *Mosaïques* F(5); see Caviness 1990b, p. 359.

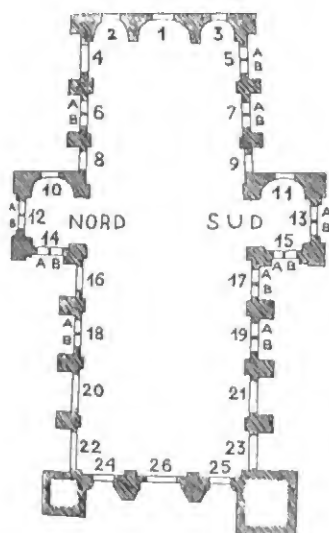
7 & 8. TWO PANELS FROM A HISTORY OF NOAH WINDOW AND A LIFE OF ST. MARTIAL WINDOW

France (Vienne), Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre c.1190

Related material: Photographs of the lost *History of Noah* window panels, Louis Steinheil, c.1883: *Noah and the Raven*, *The Loading of the Ark*, *Noah Opening the Ark*, *Noah and the Altar*; photograph of the lost *Life of St. Martial* window panel, Louis Steinheil, c.1883: *Figure with a Cross*. Copies of the photographs are in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, departmental files.

History of the glass: Prior to their acquisition by the Museum in 1926 as the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (1874–1960), these panels had been on display since 1914 at George Grey Barnard's Cloisters museum, which Barnard had built in New York to house his collection of medieval art.¹ At the time Barnard acquired the pieces in France, before World War I, they were leaded together as a circular panel (7/1); by 1970 they had been separated by the Museum. Although it is certain that both panels come from the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers (7/fig. 1), their original placement remains a matter of conjecture.

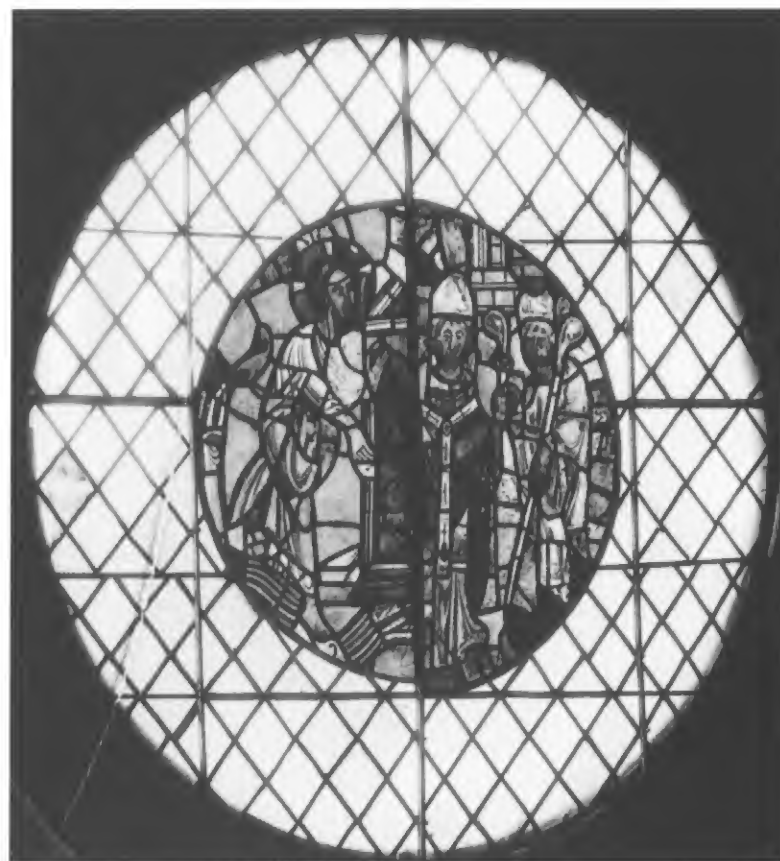
The glass in the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, Poitiers, suffered during several early attacks on the church. In 1346, in the aftermath of the English wars, Poitiers was besieged by Henry, Count of Derby, who launched a particularly vicious attack on the churches of the town, including pillage of the cathedral.² Cathedral glass was also severely damaged by the Huguenots, first in 1562, of which a detailed expertise by the glass painters René Frovignault and Michel Robin still survives, and again in 1569, in a more destructive attack that is not as thoroughly documented.³ The inability of the Huguenots to reach the interior walkway



7/fig. 1. Floor plan, Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre (after Grodecki 1952b, p. 139)

below the windows during their first attack saved the glass, limiting the breakage to the damage caused by rocks and bits of sculpture hurled at the panels. During the second siege, however, the Huguenots used artillery and were quite effective in breaking the windows. The subsequent restorations to the cathedral's glazing, including those by the glass painters Reverad and Descantes in 1775–78 and by Louis Steinheil (1814–1885) in 1882–84, resulted in the Museum's two panels, as well as others, being moved from their original bays and installed elsewhere within the building.

Although the placement of the Museum's panels during the Middle Ages is speculative, their position within the church during the nineteenth century is clear. The cathedral's historian, Abbé Charles Auguste Auber, included descriptions of both panels in diagrams of the east windows of the chevet made before 1849. These diagrams indicate that the Noah panel, joined to another half roundel from the same series, had been used as a stopgap



7/1. Condition of Nos. 7 and 8 prior to their separation in 1970

in the St. Peter window (bay 3) in the chevet of the cathedral, while the panel with the two bishops had been installed in the St. Lawrence window (bay 2), its pendant on the north wall of the chevet.⁴ The panels were removed from these positions during Steinheil's restoration of the cathedral's glass. Both panels were photographed in 1883 for Steinheil before his restoration of the three chevet windows, which was completed in 1884.⁵ It was following Louis Grodecki's publication of one of these nineteenth-century photographs that James Rorimer (1905–1966), then director of The Cloisters, linked No. 7 with the Poitiers Noah series that Grodecki previously believed to have been lost.⁶ Grodecki speculated that this *History of Noah* window originally occupied the easternmost bay on the north side of the choir of the cathedral (bay 4), commencing an Old Testament series.⁷ Radical changes had been made on this side of the choir when, in the last third of the thirteenth century, bay 4, where the Noah window is presumed to have been located, was altered with the addition of a triple-light Rayonnant window that completely changed the fenestration of the bay and, presumably, its stained glass.⁸ It is therefore possible that the Museum panel from the *History of Noah* window was reset at that time, much in the tradition of the *Belles Verrières* at the cathedrals of Rouen and Chartres.⁹ It is quite possible that the glass of this bay was subsequently damaged during an attack on the cathedral and removed by Reverad and Descantes in the course of their restoration of the cathedral's glass in 1775–78, at which time it was installed in the chevet's St. Peter window.¹⁰

Grodecki was also able to identify the *Two Bishops* panel, No. 8, through Auber's 1849 description of it.¹¹ The *Two Bishops* panel probably continued a New Testament series on the south wall, which may also have included the lives of local saints.¹² It seems likely, therefore, that the *Two Bishops* panel, like the Noah panel, came originally from an early window that had been nearly destroyed previously, perhaps in the easternmost bay of the choir on the south side (bay 5). The report following the first Huguenot attack on the cathedral tells something about the state of the glass in this bay in 1562. According to Frovignault and Robin, the window was already set in *vitreaux ouvrés*, which may be interpreted as decorative quarries or ornamental glass.¹³ In any case, it was not a historiated window but perhaps glass installed to replace pre-1562 breakage, such as that caused during the Count of Derby's attack on the cathedral. It may have been on this occasion that the window glazing from which the *Two Bishops* panel came was irretrievably damaged, and the remnants of the glass were subsequently used as stopgaps in other bays.

Original location: Evidence that the remains of the Noah window, originally located in the easternmost bay of the north side of the choir, were re-employed in the thirteenth-century Rayonnant window that replaced the twelfth-

century double window can be documented by means of a late thirteenth-century repair in a lost panel from the Noah cycle known from a Steinheil photograph made before the restorations began in 1882 (7/fig. 2).¹⁴ The repaired area consists of the head and garment of Noah as he is shown standing in the open hatch of the Ark. The style of this repair is not indigenous to the twelfth-century composition; rather it appears to be by the same atelier that was responsible for other repairs as well as new stained-glass compositions at the cathedral, including a *Virgin and Child*.¹⁵ These painters also worked at the Church of Sainte-Radegonde, located behind the cathedral, which was glazed between the late 1260s and the mid-1270s.¹⁶ The same distinctive facial types are present at both sites, as seen, for example, in the hagiographic cycle of Sainte-Radegonde and in the repairs made to both the Lot and Noah windows of the cathedral.¹⁷ It is quite possible that during modernization of the cathedral in the 1260s, the glass painters working at Sainte-Radegonde were also employed at the cathedral, repairing panels and refitting twelfth-century glass to the new Rayonnant windows.¹⁸ The Noah cycle would, thus, have been altered to fit the new aperture, where it perhaps remained until the



7/fig. 2. *Noah opening the Ark*. Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c.1190. Photographed c.1883 (current location unknown)

second Huguenot attack on the cathedral in 1569, after which the damaged panels were moved to patch the St. Peter window in the chevet.

The original location of the *Two Bishops* panel is more difficult to determine and rests largely on the dating of the choir of the cathedral. Mussat, one of the most recent of the writers to consider the building of the cathedral, contends that it was the Anglo-Norman Bishop Jean Belles-Mains, elected in 1162, who opened the chantier soon after his arrival at the See of Poitiers.¹⁹ By the end of the century the three bays of the choir were finished; they were consecrated in 1199.²⁰ However, none of the existing Old Testament windows can be dated in the twelfth century, and most writers on the glass have concluded that the earliest windows depicting the histories of Abraham, Lot, and Isaac (bay 6) date to 1210 but not before.²¹ The lost Noah window, on the contrary, is generally conceded to date around 1190. Did this date mark a shift in the traditional program? The slight evidence that remains would suggest this. On stylistic grounds, the panel of the *Two Bishops* is hardly later than those belonging to the *History of Noah*. It is as hard, angular, and schematic in style as the St. Ambrose panels at the Cathedral of Le Mans, which are generally thought to be contemporary with the Noah scenes.²² These comparisons suggest that the *Two Bishops* panel, like the Noah panel, belongs to a lost window and that this window was originally located in the choir.

Iconographic program: Grodecki's interpretation of the iconographic program at the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers as a narrative sequence of Old Testament scenes on the north side and New Testament scenes on the south side of the building is summarized in his last work on this subject.²³ This series of windows, however, has little relationship to the hagiographic narratives in the north and south sides of the east wall.

Flanking the great Crucifixion window in the central bay in the east wall, symbolic of the Redemption, are a *History of St. Peter* window (bay 3) to the south and a *Legend of St. Lawrence* window (bay 2) to the north. The St. Peter window has always been considered to occupy this place of honor because Peter was the patron of the cathedral; St. Lawrence was similarly honored because he was the "most perfect of martyrs."²⁴ Perhaps more significantly, the cathedral owned a relic of St. Lawrence's arm, and his altar was located below the window, sufficient reason to honor him with a chapel.²⁵ The cathedral also owned an important relic of St. Peter, a part of his beard.²⁶ Yet the iconographic relationship between the relics and the windows has never been made. It was common practice in western France for churches to have windows to saints of which they also had relics or special altars. Other examples include the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice at Angers, which had, in the twelfth century, relics and windows relating to St. Catherine and St. Vincent as well as

an altar and a window devoted to the Virgin.²⁷ The Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres has a *Miracles of the Virgin* window that Grodecki believed was located above her altar, and relics of St. Lubin were placed on the altar near his window; the Cathedral of Saint-Julien at Le Mans had as its most precious relics those of its patron St. Julien, whose life figured in the principle window of the west facade.²⁸ This common practice may explain the *Two Bishops* panel and provide a new interpretation of the original iconographic program at Poitiers.

The first legendary windows on the east wall of the cathedral at Poitiers and the corresponding chapels to St. Peter and St. Lawrence below them may have been installed in honor of the important relics of these two saints that resided on their altars. In addition to these relics, the cathedral had others of equal significance. Chief among these was the crucifix of St. Martial, whom St. Peter was believed to have personally sent to Gaul to christianize Aquitaine. A record of 1197, cited by Auber, states that at that time King Richard the Lion Heart had as his chancellor Guillaume, Bishop of Ely in Cambridgeshire, whom he dispatched to Rome accompanied by the bishops of Lisieux and Durham. On the way, Guillaume became sick and died in Poitiers, whereupon the crucifix of St. Martial was recorded to weep, with floods of tears streaming from its eyes. People said that this had happened twice before, at the death of Bishop Laurent in 1161 and again when Jean Belles-Mains, his successor who began the rebuilding of the cathedral, left to become Archbishop of Narbonne.²⁹ By the last decade of the twelfth century these were events in recent memory that would have had special significance for the iconographic program of the new choir and can inform our understanding of a window that may have been dedicated to the bishop Martial.

When, according to legend, St. Peter sent Martial to Aquitaine in the year 55, he gave him the blessing of consecration and assigned to him two of the bishop's disciples, Alpinian and Austriclinian.³⁰ When Martial founded the cathedral See of Poitiers on the day of St. Peter's death in Rome, 29 June in the year 67, he was accompanied by the same two disciples.³¹ Either of these two scenes – Bishop Martial en route to Aquitaine or the foundation of the See of Poitiers – could be represented here in the Museum's panel. The other disciple or clergy would have been shown in the missing half of the scene. Since both figures in the panel wear ecclesiastical vestments and one wears the pallium, the episode represented is probably the founding of the See of Poitiers, with St. Martial ordaining its first bishop. Martial, already bishop of Limoges and, therefore, prelate of all Aquitaine, would have been considered to hold the rank of archbishop and thus be allowed to wear the pallium, as did St. Martin before his elevation to the See of Tours.³² Another panel that



8/fig. 1. Figure with a Cross. Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c.1190. Photographed c.1883 (current location unknown)

Steinheil removed from the St. Peter window at Poitiers (8/fig. 1) contains a figure holding a carved cross whose head is very similar in style to that of the bishop here.³³ This may be an element from another scene depicting the legend of St. Martial with his famous crucifix, relic of Poitiers Cathedral.

Much of the debris from the St. Peter window is completely unreadable except for one half roundel with two figures³⁴ (one of which features a restored head by the Sainte-Radegonde workshop), both of which appear to be female, which in turn suggests a life of St. Hilary, Poitiers' most famous bishop.³⁵ The two women could have been St. Hilary's wife and daughter, both of whom died before he became a prelate. A life of St. Hilary would have been expected in a program highlighting the relics in the cathedral and would have been appropriate as a pendant for the *Life of St. Martial* in the double window in the easternmost bay of the south wall. Second only in importance to the crucifix of St. Martial among relics of local saints at Poitiers was the miter of St. Hilary mentioned in an account of 1167.³⁶ In that year Pope Alexander III, having sought temporary refuge in France, sent as a legate to an ecclesiastical assembly in Tours the famous Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII. The entire ecclesiastical hierarchy of Aquitaine was present and, to honor the papal legate per-

sonally as well as his presence as president of the council, two canons of Poitiers Cathedral took with them the precious relic of the miter of St. Hilary, the very miter that he had worn at the council in Rome when his eloquence had vanquished the Arians and caused the death of the antipope Leo. After the council convened in Tours in 1167 was finished, the relic was returned to Poitiers Cathedral. This is the only account in which the miter is mentioned, and it is not included in the inventory of the cathedral's treasury in 1406.³⁷ Moreover, by 1167 Bishop Jean Belles-Mains was in the process of building the choir, and by 1190, a more reasonable date for the *Two Bishops* panel, the first completed bay (bay 5) was ready for glazing. Surely the bishop might have marked such an important event in his administration as the Tours council by commemorating it in the windows of his choir.

The iconographic program that opposes Old and New Testament cycles at Poitiers seems to have emerged later. With the exception of the Genesis histories, including that of Noah, postulated by Grodecki, all the other histories seem to be no earlier than the histories of Abraham, Lot, and Isaac of the second bay of the choir (bay 6), which date to c.1210–15.³⁸ The New Testament scenes of the south side (bay 7) follow much later, about 1230–40.³⁹

Bibliography: Auber 1849 (vol. 1, pp. 11–15 and 344–348; vol. 2, pp. 12–15 and 293) remains the only monograph on the cathedral and gives the location for both panels prior to the restoration of 1882–84; Grodecki 1952b, pp. 149–50, fig. 5, publishes and identifies the Noah panels; Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 116, refers to the Cloisters Noah panel; Mussat 1963, pp. 257–58, repeats Grodecki 1948 and 1952b; Hayward and Grodecki 1966, p. 21, analyzes the stylistic relationship of No. 7 to Angers; Hayward in New York 1970, vol. 1, pp. 193–95, nos. 200–201, discusses style and original placement of No. 7 and associates No. 8 with the legends of saints Martial and Fabian; Hayward 1971, p. 308, fig. 16, examines the evolution of the pall, illustrating No. 8; New York 1971, nos. 4 and 7; Hayward 1971–72, pp. 110–111 and 114, summarizes the history of the glass, style, and dating; Grodecki 1977, pp. 216 and 287, no. 75, mentions No. 7 and relates it to another panel from the same series; Schrader 1979, p. 40, figs. 50 and 51; Hayward 1981a, pp. 129–39, studies the Noah panel in detail for the first time; Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 55, ill. 44, discusses placement and style of the lost *History of Noah* window and illustrates No. 7; CV US, *Checklist I*, pp. 94–95, provides basic information and bibliography and dates both panels to the end of the twelfth century; Lillich 1994, p. 332 n. 63, mentions No. 8 and its stop-gapped head; [Virginia Raguin in Raguin, Brush, and Draper 1995, pp. 174, 181, and 187, compares the style of No. 7 to that of a panel from Angers, mentions Steinheil's removal of the glass, and notes the acquisition of the panels by the Museum].

7. God Incarnate closing the Door of Noah's Ark

Half-circular panel

76.2 × 37.8 cm (30 × 14 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1925 (25.120.394a)

(Exhibited in the Department of Medieval Art)

Ill. nos. 7, 7/a, 7/1-3, 7/figs. 1-3

Description: A centrally placed figure of Christ as the incarnation of God occupies nearly the entire length of the lunette-shaped panel. Shown in profile, the right side of the figure wears a long, creamy white robe and a mantle of light brownish pink and faces outward, its back to the panel's rounded edge; the face, of a medium brown glass, appears in three-quarter view. The head is adorned with a cruciform nimbus in bright, striated red, with white accents creating the crucifix. A light brown foot rests upon the crest of the white waves, while the other foot is invisible behind the water. Reaching across the scene to seal the door of the Ark, the figure's light brown hands touch a door frame of bright golden yellow. A triangular red gable with white accents, simulated black ironwork that decorates a bottle green door, and a pale sapphire deck indicate the remainder of the Ark. A lone white tree with golden yellow foliage stands at left.

Condition: Examination of the glass reveals several restorations. By 1970 the two unrelated half roundels were separated in preparation for the exhibition titled "The Year 1200." At least two restorations were affected between the removal of the glass from Poitiers by 1884

and its exhibition by Barnard in 1914. The earlier restoration, dating after Steinheil's photography of the glass c.1883, consisted of a reorganization of displaced pieces, such as moving the drapery covering Christ's left arm to the area above his right knee, and the removal of obvious stop-gaps, among them the outer branch of the tree. Some time later, the original head of the figure (7/2) was replaced by the present copy, which was broken and then repaired with mending leads (7/3). Pre-nineteenth-century restorations may account for the panel's stylistic



7/a. Restoration chart



7. *God Incarnate closing the Door of Noah's Ark*. France, Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c.1190



inconsistencies, including the right hand of Christ and the numerous stopgaps throughout the glass. Originally a half quatrefoil, the panel was probably altered to its present shape when the glass was re-used in the St. Peter window in 1775.⁴⁰ A dense crust of patination covers the back surface of the glass, with pitting in colors such as the bottle green of the door. The cobalt blue glass, of a potassium rather than a soda base, is deeply pitted on its exterior face, and also shows a network of fine pits and crevices on the interior surface. Paint losses are slight. In late 2000 the panel was framed with a brass channel.

Composition: The Noah panel as seen today is no longer in its original form. Examination of this panel, together with the scenes recorded in the Steinheil photographs, indicates that it and several other panels, now lost, were joined as pairs to make quatrefoils.⁴¹ Each quatrefoil had an iron running vertically through the middle of the panel, dividing it in two. This central, vertical division of the scenes was a common glazing practice at Poitiers and elsewhere in the west of France.⁴² Although the panel has not retained its original framing band, an insert above the head of Noah suggests that it was composed of a broad, unpainted red fillet, perhaps edged by narrow bands of painted, pierced pearls, as shown in the Steinheil photograph. This type of framing device would coincide with developments elsewhere in the west of France. Similar frames appear, for example, in the three legendary windows of the cathedral at Angers only about five years earlier than these windows from Poitiers, dated c. 1190.⁴³ The use of complex shapes, such as the quatrefoils suggested here, is also characteristic of glass in western France at the end of the twelfth century. The St. Martin window at Angers, from about 1200, employs octagonal fields, while in the St. Ambrose panels at the Cathedral of Le Mans hexagon shapes alternate with almond shapes.⁴⁴

Iconography: The scene of *God closing the door of Noah's Ark* is rare in Genesis iconography. Only two examples that pre-date with certainty the Museum's Poitiers panel include this scene: the ivory antependium of Salerno, before 1084, and the Caedmon Genesis (7/fig. 3), of the early eleventh century.⁴⁵ In both of these examples God appears in anthropomorphic form; in the Caedmon drawing he appears with the crossed nimbus of Christ, the iconographic type that is repeated here in the Poitiers panel. Furthermore, both of these examples show God standing upon the crest of the rising floodwaters, as he does in this scene. In all probability, the missing right half of the Poitiers image displayed the side view of the Ark with Noah and his family in the window, as in the Salerno ivory. Although the Caedmon illustration is a conflation of



7/2. (above) Panel condition, c. 1883

7/3. (below) Detail, head of God Incarnate, present condition

incidents from the Noah story, certain additional details from it relate to the Poitiers portrayal. In the Caedmon manuscript God has not yet closed the door, yet his pose – with outstretched arms enveloped in loosely folded sleeves, his mantle bunched about his hips, and his robe fanned out in tight pleats over his ankles – is not unlike that of the figure in the Poitiers glass. The iron door mounts in the two scenes are also similar. With the exception of the original quatrefoil format that is repeated in the Noah window at Chartres Cathedral,⁴⁶ there are no iconographic comparisons to be made between this panel and later stained-glass Noah cycles in French stained glass.

Other panels from the *History of Noah* window at the Cathedral of Poitiers, known from the Steinheil photographs,⁴⁷ confirm that the model for the Poitiers window was English rather than French. The political ties of the city of Poitiers during the period when the cathedral choir was built were also English rather than French. Jean

Belles-Mains, an Englishman from York who became bishop of Poitiers in 1161, began the building of the new cathedral and continued to supervise its construction until 1180, when the two eastern bays were completed.⁴⁸ A friend of Thomas Becket, Jean Belles-Mains visited Canterbury, where the Caedmon Genesis and other relevant English manuscripts are thought to have been located.⁴⁹ It is not inconceivable that Belles-Mains knew these manuscripts or that he derived models for his own program at Poitiers from similar English sources.

The lost Noah window, as Grodecki has demonstrated, forms a unifying link between the three twelfth-century windows in the eastern wall of the flat chevet and those dating from the end of the century in the second bay of the choir (bays 6 and 7).⁵⁰ Initiated in the Redemption window of the central bay (bay 1), which reiterated the Christian importance of the Mass,⁵¹ the iconographic program continued in the lateral openings with the life of St. Peter, patron of the cathedral, on the left (bay 3) and the legend of St. Lawrence, whose arm constituted the cathedral's most important relic, on the right (bay 2). As discussed above, this iconographic program based upon the relics held by the cathedral seems to have been terminated in the thirteenth century in favor of a new narrative program. The first double bays of the choir on both the north and south sides have lost their stained-glass windows, but we can see that a new iconographic program continued in the second bay on the north side with Old Testament histories, including *Abraham and Lot* (bay 6A) and *Isaac* (bay 6B), and on the south side with New Testament subjects and lives of the saints. It was Grodecki's theory that a Genesis cycle including the Noah window occupied the two windows of the first bay on the north side, thus forming a logical beginning for the Old Testament series and unifying the typological significance of the iconographic program.⁵² Like the histories of Lot, Abraham, and Isaac as well as the later windows that continue the series at Poitiers, the remains of the Noah window indicate that it was intended as a narrative rather than as a symbolic rendering of the life of the patriarch.

Color and technique: The color range in the panel is limited but effectively used. Although the greenish tint in the glass of the background is unusual for the twelfth century, it is characteristic of a small group of windows made in western France toward the end of the century, including the *Legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria* at Angers, dated about 1190, and panels from a *Life of St. Ambrose* at Le Mans, also about 1190.⁵³

The paint in the Noah panel is applied in two washes of mat and one layer of trace. The mats are a light and a medium tone and are used to delineate features, folds of garments, and the setting. The light tone is always used as a wash, while the darker tone is often applied in brush strokes to represent locks of hair and beards or to soften



7/fig. 3. *God closing the Door of Noah's Ark*. England, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Caedmon Genesis, MS. Junius XI, p. 66, end of the tenth century–early eleventh century

the effect of shadow, for example, in defining the roundness of Christ's leg. Trace lines have a washy character, particularly when the paint is used as a solid tone, as it is in outlining the branches of the tree or the waves that rise against the side of the Ark. Stick lighting with the stylus is used sparingly but is visible in the waves and in the foliage of the tree. Brush strokes appear looser and more relaxed than the wire-tight line of the brush strokes in the St. Peter window from which this panel was extracted. The techniques seen here are characteristic of glass in the west of France at the end of the twelfth century.⁵⁴

Style: In many respects the Noah panel is directly related to stylistic developments in stained-glass centers in western France and to characteristics peculiar to this area in the last decade of the twelfth century. At about the same time in Angers, in Le Mans, and in Poitiers the round or rectangular shapes of scenes in narrative windows were eschewed in favor of more complex geometric forms. This shift was initiated at Poitiers with the quatrefoil medallions of the Noah window. Since the five scenes from this window, four of which have survived only in photographs, are all divided by a central vertical iron, there is evidence to support the theory that the older system of bisecting scenes with a central iron was retained in the more complex format. This primitive type of armature was also retained at Angers.

The predominance of cool colors evident in the Noah panel is also standard in glass from western France at the end of the twelfth century. Aside from the border strips present in all the windows that have survived, red is used sparingly and only as an accent. At Poitiers this marks a decided shift from the hot tonalities of the chevet windows. The distinctive greenish blue of the background is a color employed both at Angers and Le Mans but nowhere else in France in this period.

Perhaps the most convincing link here to a style common to glass in western France is the figure type. The original head, known from photographs, is large in proportion to the figure, with a long oval face, large dark eyes (with indications for neither the upper nor the lower fold of the lid), and heavy brows that follow the shape of the eye. The nose is long and slightly aquiline at the tip, and the mouth is wide, with a tendency to droop at the corners. The hair is softly waved and hugs the neck. The hands and feet are tiny by comparison, except for the thumb, which is disproportionately long and widely separated from the fingers, as indicated in Noah's raised hand. Drapery is modeled with washes of mat, and folds are delineated by trace lines. Fold patterns retain a certain decorative angularity of earlier types but show a softening of form and a weightiness that appears almost simultaneously throughout the west of France.

Date: There is little confirmation to support a secure date for the Noah panel. The choir of the cathedral was begun in 1162 and consecrated in 1199.⁵⁵ The two easternmost bays are thought to have been completed by about 1180, which implies that the Noah window could have been set at any time between that date and the consecration. Stylistically related windows at the Cathedral of Le Mans have no proof of date, while those at Angers are dated after 1183 based on a document related to the glazing program.⁵⁶ According to his stylistic chronology established for the windows in western France, Grodecki would place this glass in the last decade of the twelfth century.⁵⁷ Considering the progress of the building campaign at Poitiers, the stylistic break between the easternmost bays and the rest of the choir, and its consecration in 1199, a date of about 1190 for the Noah window seems appropriate.

Photographic reference: Negative 60894, made in 1925, shows the panel leaded together with the *Two Bishops* panel when it was exhibited in George Grey Barnard's museum. This was made directly following John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s purchase of the Barnard Cloisters as a gift to the Metropolitan Museum. The installation of the Noah panel, while still joined with the *Two Bishops* panel, in the east window of the library of The Cloisters at its opening in 1938 is recorded in negative 8448. The panel's condition in the nineteenth century (including the original head of Christ) is shown in the photograph made by Durand Studio of Paris for Steinheil in 1883, cliché number 6701. [The other Noah scenes are also from Steinheil's photographs, cliché numbers 6781–6790.] Negative 191414 was made for the Museum in 1969, and negative 230241 was produced in 1983.

8. St. Martial founding the Cathedral See of Poitiers

Half-circular panel

78.7 × 39.4 cm (31 × 15½ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1925 (25.120.394b)

(Exhibited in the Department of Medieval Art)

Ill. nos. 8, 8/a, 8/1 and 2, 8/figs. 1–3

Description: Two bishops stand in a landscape. At left, flanking the straight side of the lunette-shaped panel, one figure wears a white pallium adorned with crosses, like that of an archbishop. Underneath the pallium, he wears an alb of pale greenish glass, a white dalmatic, a green maniple, and a murrey chasuble. Atop his head is a low, two-pointed white miter with lappets characteristic of the twelfth century. His companion standing at right is similarly dressed. He wears a light yellow chasuble over a

8. *St. Martial founding the Cathedral See of Poitiers*. France, Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c.1190.



8/a. Restoration chart



white alb and a white miter atop his head. Both figures hold croziers of white with yellow heads. The hands of both bishops are dark brown, while their faces are a lighter brown. At the top of the panel a light blue and brownish red building with white accents appears in the distance against a blue background.

Condition: The panel is heavily patinated on the exterior and contains a number of stopgaps in the blue background. As shown on the restoration diagram, the panel has been restored at least twice before the end of the nineteenth century. The second restoration occurred following Steinheil's removal of the panel from the St. Lawrence window in 1882.⁵⁸ At that time the fragments of architecture were added at the top of the piece, and a head that Steinheil found in the St. Peter window (8/fig. 2) was substituted for the out-of-scale, stop-gapped head of the bishop on the right.⁵⁹ Earlier restorations, probably including the stop-gapped head, may be related to the general releading campaign of 1775–78.⁶⁰ The panel was separated from the unrelated Noah piece before 1970 for the exhibition "The Year 1200." In 2000 it was framed with a brass channel.

Composition: Like the Noah panel (No. 7), the *Two Bishops* panel follows the tradition at Poitiers of dividing the scene vertically with an iron. The same structural procedure was followed in both the St. Peter and Noah windows and was common practice in the west of France, particularly at Angers.⁶¹ In all probability, the foot of the bishop on the right originally extended beyond the circular edge of the scene into the framing fillet, a characteristic of stained glass in France during the twelfth century. The enlarged scale of the figures in relation to their space, which this device permitted, is typical of work at Poitiers from the end of the century, as in the Museum's Noah panel, and later.⁶²

Iconography: There is little in the present iconographic program at Poitiers that suggests a place for the *Two Bishops* panel. Within the New Testament windows on the south side of the cathedral, only the St. Blaise scenes have been uncontested.⁶³ This saint was especially popular in Poitiers, also having a window in his honor at the Church of Sainte-Radegonde.⁶⁴ But, except for this inclusion, the remains of the other windows are all devoted to the *Life of Christ* and his parables. Furthermore, the New Testament windows all belong to the later years of the glazing program (1230–40), which continued for more than half a century. For glass that can be stylistically dated within the last decade of the twelfth century, only the *Life of Noah* scenes, the *Two Bishops* panel, and a few fragments (now lost) extracted by Steinheil from the east windows, can qualify. A possible explanation for the existence of the panel is that, as suggested above in the Introduction, a change in the original iconographic program occurred in the early years of the thirteenth century, resulting in the

incorporation of new themes celebrating the *Life of Christ* and the parables. With the exception of the Redemption window, which is not only the central theme of the glazing at Poitiers but also the essence of Christian doctrine, the earliest windows of St. Peter and St. Lawrence refer to important relics in the cathedral treasury. (As discussed above in **Iconographic program**, the chapter owned a part of St. Peter's beard and an arm of St. Lawrence.) Of almost equal importance were the relics of local saints that were venerated at the cathedral. Chief among these relics was the miraculous crucifix of St. Martial, which is recorded in 1197 as having wept upon three separate and sorrowful occasions in Poitiers.⁶⁵ The crucifix is not specifically mentioned in the inventory of 1406, but another relic of the same saint, a sandal, is included.⁶⁶

St. Martial was believed to have founded the cathedral See of Poitiers on the day of St. Peter's death in Rome, June 29, in the year 67, soon after he had been sent by St. Peter to christianize Aquitaine. He was accompanied by his two disciples, Alpinian and Austriclinian.⁶⁷ The Museum's panel likely represents either St. Martial traveling to Aquitaine or his foundation of the See of Poitiers. Since this event at Poitiers occurred early in the saint's history, its depiction was probably placed near the top of the window and hence survived the various pillages of the cathedral's furnishings.⁶⁸ In contrast to the design of most stained-glass windows, it was common practice in Poitiers to arrange the scenes so that they read from the top downward.

As indicated by this panel, St. Martial dressed in ecclesiastical vestments would have stood in the center of the roundel with one of his companions repeating the saint's gesture of benediction on the right. The saint's raised right arm, suggested by the taut pull of the folds of his chasuble, and the other disciple would have occupied the lost left half of the scene. St. Martial, as bishop of Aquitaine, wears the pallium, usually (but not always) reserved for archbishops.⁶⁹

Color and technique: Much of the blue background, in particular the two pieces that take the place of the saint's shoulders, has been replaced with a potassium-based grayish blue glass. The original color, seen next to the heads and between the two figures, is a much more greenish blue, another characteristic of certain windows in the west of France toward the end of the twelfth century.⁷⁰

Particular characteristics that persisted throughout the glazing of the cathedral can be seen in this panel. Like the Noah scene, two tones of mat paint and one of trace can be distinguished. The light mat is always used as a wash, while the dark mat is frequently stroked on for hair and beards and to soften the trace lines when modeling drapery folds. Fine brush strokes of this darker mat serve as ornament for the miters and pallium. The trace is sometimes used for highlights, as can be seen in the saint's hair.



8/1. Panel condition, c.1883

Style and date: The original glass plus the stopgaps that were inserted in the panel during or directly following Steinheil's restoration of the east windows demonstrate the evolution of the style of glass painting that began about 1190 and continued for over fifty years. During that time the glazing program at the cathedral slowly progressed from east to west. Characteristics that do not seem to have endured past the beginning of the thirteenth century include the finely detailed stickwork apparent in the ornament on the Cross recorded in the Steinheil photo-

graph (8/fig. 1), which may have come from the same window as the Museum's panel, and the lean, carefully modeled faces with narrow noses and large, staring eyes. The line of the brow repeats that of the upper lid. The drapery falls in soft, expressive folds and clings closely to the body. This refinement of form does not last long at Poitiers and is replaced soon after the turn of the century by more robust forms. The soft folds of drapery that spill and fan outward on the pavement at the feet of St. Martial, for example, become much stiffer and sketchier, and by the end of the first decade of the thirteenth century lack articulation. This difference can be appreciated by comparing the hem of St. Martial's alb with the edge of the attendant bishop's dalmatic, a piece borrowed from the edge of the towel in the later Baptism (8/fig. 3). The full, fleshy faces in the Baptism scene, when compared with the lean, taut heads of the saint and the cross bearer, show a formal relaxation and schematization of the style. This is the phase of the indigenous style that produced the first Old Testament histories in bay 6.⁷¹ The final stage of the style, known as the Hard Style, which Grodecki has dated 1230–40, can be seen in the head of the second bishop that replaced the earlier stopgap (8/1 and 8/2) also eliminated by Steinheil.⁷² The present head was removed from another scene (8/fig. 2), possibly a *Giving of the Keys to St. Peter* from a lost *Public Life of Christ* window. Here such facial features as the eyes have been compressed into a graphic formula that has little to do with reality. The trace lines that define the hair do not vary in thickness. The style of Poitiers in this its final phase seems to have degenerated into a formula that contrasts sharply with the elegant descriptive line of the early style.



8/2. Detail, heads of St. Martial and one of his disciples, current condition



8/fig. 2. *Giving of the Keys to St. Peter* (?). Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c.1230–40. Photographed c.1883 (current location unknown)



8/fig. 3. *The Baptism of Christ*. Poitiers, Cathedral of Saint-Pierre, c.1210. Photographed c.1883 (current location unknown)

Both the style and subject of this panel suggest a date in the twelfth century for its design. While the Noah panel has more in common with the ateliers that worked in Angers about 1185 and in Le Mans somewhat later, the panel of St. Martial marks an early stage, about 1190, of the shop that continued to work at the cathedral up to the middle of the succeeding century.⁷³

Photographic reference: Negative 60894, made in 1925, shows the panel leaded together with the Noah panel when it was then exhibited in George Grey Barnard's museum. This was made directly following John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s purchase of the Barnard Cloisters as a gift to the

Metropolitan Museum. The installation of the *Two Bishops* panel, while still joined with the Noah panel, in the east window of the library at The Cloisters at its opening in 1938 is recorded in negative 8448. An earlier state of the panel (No. 8/1) is shown in a photograph made for Steinheil in 1883 by the Durand Studio of Paris, cliché number 6761; cliché numbers 6785 and 6786 are also from Durand's work for Steinheil. Negative 191415 was created for the Museum in 1969, and negative 230241 was produced in 1983.

NOTES

1. Schrader 1979, p. 4, fig. 3, shows the panels installed in Barnard's museum (photo now in The Cloisters, Archives). [For more information on Barnard's museum and its relationship to The Cloisters, see also Shepard, Introduction.]
2. For the siege, see Auber 1849, vol. 2, pp. 86–94.
3. On the Huguenot attacks, see *ibid.*, pp. 239–71, and Grodecki 1952b, p. 140.
4. For the Noah panel, see Auber 1849, vol. I, p. 347 (no. 2 in lancet diagram). For the *Two Bishops* panel, see Auber 1849, vol. I, p. 345 (no. 4 in lancet diagram). Auber mistook St. Lawrence for St. Fabian, a misidentification corrected in Grodecki 1952b, p. 148. In lieu of a numbered floor plan published under the aegis of the French committee of the Corpus Vitrearum, the numbered floor plan published in Grodecki 1952b, p. 139, fig. 1, is used here.
5. Documents regarding the Steinheil restoration are preserved in the Bibliothèque de la Direction de l'Architecture, Paris. That Steinheil himself reused fragments removed from the east windows is demonstrated within the first Joseph window of the south transept, also restored by Steinheil, where the head of Noah from the lost *Release of the Dove* (Raven) panel is inserted into the scene of *Joseph's Brothers selling him to the Ishmaelites*. This is a sad commentary on the fate of this splendid glass. A closer examination may reveal other re-uses, as well as the missing head of Christ in the Cloisters panel. [For a summary of Steinheil's work at Poitiers and the location of documentation, see Virginia Raguin in Raguin, Brush, and Draper 1995, p. 187.]
6. Correspondence between James Rorimer and Louis Grodecki, 9 November 1953 and 30 November 1953, respectively, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, departmental files.
7. Grodecki 1952b, pp. 149–50.
8. Mention of the window's enlargement and alteration is made in *ibid.*, p. 140.
9. For the resetting of the *Belles Verrières* at Rouen, see Cothren 1986d, pp. 203–4; for that of Chartres, see Bouchon et al. 1979, p. 16.
10. Documents for this restoration are preserved in Poitiers, Archives Départementales de la Vienne, ms. G. 191, "Mémoire de la veuve Reverad et de Descantes," 28 October 1777.
11. See nn. 4 and 6 above.
12. Grodecki 1952b, p. 143, notes the possible inclusion of windows illustrating the lives of local saints. The New Testament windows of the south side of the cathedral are examined in *ibid.*, pp. 154–56. The inclusion of hagiographic windows is suggested by the remains of a history of St. Blaise, an important Poitevin saint, which are now leaded into a window (bay 14A) on the west wall of the north transept and are discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 152–53. Furthermore, according to Grodecki in *ibid.*, p. 155, Rayon saw a history of St. Acacius (synonymous with St. Maurice, of special veneration in western France) in the west bay of the south transept (bay 15).
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 140–41.
14. Hayward 1981a, p. 133, fig. 4.
15. The *Virgin and Child* panel was also extracted by Steinheil from the St. Lawrence window in the chevet. It was published in Roussel n.d., vol. 2, pl. 16.
16. Lillich 1983, p. 123, dates the Sainte-Radegonde glass to the late 1260s, while Lillich 1994, p. 76, places it between 1268 and 1276. Grodecki 1948, p. 101 n. 12, also dated repairs made to the glass of the cathedral to the end of the thirteenth century and suggests that this work was done at the same time that the window tracery was altered. Subsequent authors, however, have proposed an earlier dating for both these alterations; see Mussat 1963, pp. 258–63 and 249, table for fig. 23. Branner 1965, pp. 105–6, observed that window patterns of Parisian derivation, including the western rose window of Poitiers Cathedral, were not widely copied until after 1260.
17. For Sainte-Radegonde, see Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 166, fig. 159, and p. 256. For repairs by these painters to the cathedral's twelfth-century windows, see Grodecki 1948, pl. 24b.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 101 n. 12.
19. On the history and the dating of the various building campaigns at the cathedral, see Mussat 1963, pp. 244–54. Jean Belles-Mains came to the diocese after having served as treasurer of the chapter of York Minster.
20. See Grodecki 1948, p. 107. Not all authorities are in agreement on this point although the older writers accept the date (Grodecki 1948, n. 72, gives the citations). Mussat accepts the end of the century by implication in stating that before 1200 the chantier was in full activity on the second campaign, which included the vaulting of the third and final bay of the choir; see Mussat 1963, p. 258.
21. Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 55–56.
22. Grodecki 1977, p. 69, ill. 55.
23. Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 56.
24. Grodecki 1952b, p. 148.
25. *Ibid.*
26. Auber 1849, vol. I, p. 13.
27. For these windows at Angers, see Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 17–23.
28. For Le Mans, see Mussat et al. 1981, p. 185, and Grodecki 1977, p. 64. For Chartres, see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, text vol., pp. 189–95.
29. See Auber 1849, vol. 2, p. 14.
30. The most complete account of the life of St. Martial is Auber 1865, pp. 455–78, with primary sources.
31. See *ibid.*, p. 461.
32. See Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pl. p. 25, and Papanicolaou 1979, pl. 42a.
33. Shown in Steinheil photographs, Paris, Monuments Historiques, cliché no. 6746.
34. Also shown in Steinheil photographs, Paris, Monuments Historiques, cliché no. 6746.
35. For the life of St. Hilary, see Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 1, pp. 87–89.
36. For the account of St. Hilary's miter, see Auber 1849, vol. 2, p. 11.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Grodecki 1952b, p. 162, and Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 55–56.
39. Grodecki 1952b, p. 162, and Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 56.
40. Hayward 1981a, p. 132. For alterations in this window, see n. 10 above. Grodecki states that following this restoration the windows were as they appear today; see Grodecki 1952b, p. 141. After World War II, missing panels were replaced by new scenes made in the shop of Jean-Jacques Gruber; see Aubert et al. 1958, p. 80.
41. Hayward 1981a, fig. 1C, pp. 132 and 138 n. 17.
42. For examples at Angers, see Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 13–29. For other windows at Poitiers, see Grodecki 1948, pp. 101–2, pl. 18k, and Grodecki 1952b, pp. 147–48 and 150.
43. Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 17–23.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 23–26, and Brisac in Mussat et al. 1981, pp. 67–68.
45. The iconography of the Noah panels from Poitiers and elsewhere has been discussed in Hayward 1981a, pp. 129–39, especially pp. 134–35.
46. Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 2, pls. CLXXIX–CLXXXI.
47. See Hayward 1981a, figs. 2–5.
48. See n. 19 above.
49. On the glazing of Christ Church at Canterbury and these manuscripts, see Caviness 1977b, pp. 112–13.
50. The iconographic program is discussed in Grodecki 1952b, pp. 143–56.
51. On this question, see Hayward 1981c, pp. 129–44.
52. See Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 55–56, and n. 7 above.
53. See Grodecki 1977, p. 69, ill. 55, and p. 84, ill. 65.
54. Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 18–19. The most recent review of twelfth-century stained glass of western France is Grodecki 1977, pp. 57–90 and 215–16.
55. See n. 19 above.

56. Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 7–10.

57. See n. 54 above.

58. Paris, *Monuments Historiques*, cliché no. 6761.

59. The panel from which Steinheil salvaged this head is noted by Auber 1849, vol. 1, p. 347 (no. 10 on lancet diagram), as part of the St. Peter window. Its appearance prior to Steinheil's work is recorded in No. 8/fig. 2, Paris, *Monuments Historiques*, cliché no. 6786. See also Lillich 1994, p. 332 n. 63, who identifies the replacement head as being the work of the Sainte-Radegonde atelier.

60. For the extent of this work, see Grodecki 1952b, p. 141.

61. See n. 42 above.

62. Later work includes glass at Angers in the first half of the thirteenth century; see Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 58–60.

63. On the St. Blaise window, see Grodecki 1952b, pp. 152–53.

64. See De Chergé 1872, p. 132, and Lillich 1994, pp. 105–10.

65. The legend of the weeping crucifix is recorded in Auber 1849, vol. 2, p. 14, who relates that the corpus on the cross wept three times: when William, bishop of Ely, died at Poitiers in 1197; when Jean Belles-Mains, the builder of the choir, left the diocese to become archbishop of Narbonne in 1181; and when Bishop Laurent died on 28 March 1161.

66. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

67. Auber 1865, pp. 460–61. For the history of St. Martial, see Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 896–900, and Leroux 1910, pp. 64–85 and 353–66, which includes St. Martial's elevation to the rank of apostle. He was thought to have been present at the washing of the feet where he held the basin for Christ, at the Ascension, and to have accompanied St. Peter on his travels. See also Paris-New York 1995–96, pp. 24, 90–91, and 104.

68. See *History of the glass*, above.

69. See Hayward 1971, p. 308, who discusses the evolution of the pallium.

70. This color can be seen in the St. Catherine windows at Angers, about 1185, and in the St. Ambrose window at Le Mans. See n. 53 above.

71. The style is indicated in a panel from the *History of Isaac* window from Poitiers Cathedral, illustrated in Grodecki and Brisac 1984, ill. 46.

72. The so-called Hard Style terminology was invented by Virginia Raguin in a paper read at the Thirteenth International Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum in Barcelona, 7 October 1985. She is currently studying the stained glass of Poitiers.

73. [Lillich dates this panel to c. 1210–20; see Lillich 1994, pp. 26–27, and n. 59 above.]

9 & 10. COMPOSITE FIGURE OF AN ANCESTOR OF CHRIST

France (Aisne), Braine, Abbey of Saint-Yved, south transept

c. 1200

Related material: France (Aisne), Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, apse clerestory, bay 103, Amminadab, Cainan, Jechonias, and Salathiel; United States, California, Glendale, Forest Lawn Memorial Park, *Bust of King David* and *Lower Part of an Ancestor of Christ* (lot 11/12/60/85); Maryland, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, *Bust of an Ancestor of Christ(?)* and *Torso of an Ancestor of Christ(?)* (46.38), *Lower Part of an Ancestor of Christ* (46.39); Missouri, St. Louis, City Art Museum of St. Louis, *Ancestor of Christ* (137.20); Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum, *Bust of Jacob* (03.SG.230), *Bust of a King* and *Lower Part of an Ancestor of Christ* (03.SG.234a and c); Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Ancestor of Christ(?)* (1928–40–1).

History of the glass: This three-panel figure, identified from its inscription as Abiud, was purchased by the Museum from the firm of Bacri Frères in Paris shortly before the start of World War I. Although nothing definitive is known about the figure prior to its purchase from Bacri, the market in displaced glass from the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons (including the glass transferred to Soissons from the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine before 1820) suggests a conduit by which the Museum's panels could have reached Bacri (see *Original location* below).¹

Original location: Until the 1980s the Museum's figure was thought to have come from the Abbey Church of

Saint-Remi at Reims. This attribution was first proposed in 1918 by Arthur Kingsley Porter, who stated in a letter to the Metropolitan that "your Abiud glass undoubtedly belongs to the school of Champagne. It seems to have a relationship with that of the nave of St. Remi as exactly as I can remember."² Porter based his opinion on his memory of the glass seen before World War I. The idea was revived again in 1953 in a series of letters between Louis Grodecki and James J. Rorimer, then director of The Cloisters. Grodecki stated that he was certain that the panel came from Saint-Remi, although not from the nave windows as Porter had thought but rather from a later series, of the same style, located in the choir. He further noted that his opinion was confirmed by Jacques Simon, the glass painter who had restored the glass, and included a photograph of one of the nave figures to prove his point.³

In making his argument, Grodecki cited the iconography of Abiud as pertaining to the two biblical series of precursors of Christ, which enumerate the generations descending from Adam. He stated that an Abiud was still to be found at Saint-Remi (9–10/fig. 1) but

9–10/fig. 1. *Abiud*. France, Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c. 1150/c. 1200



that its head was modern, a restoration of the nineteenth century.⁴ On the basis of this statement and a previous, admittedly brief, examination of the Museum's figure while in storage, Grodecki concluded that the Metropolitan's Abiud contained the missing head of the ancestor at Reims.

Grodecki never reconsidered his attribution of Abiud to the choir clerestory of Saint-Remi, and he subsequently stated a number of times that the group of figures making up the Saint-Remi choir clerestory cycle consisted of apostles and evangelists surrounding the central figure of the Virgin in the apse, with prophets, each surmounting an archbishop of Reims, in the side bays.⁵ In fact, on the two occasions he published the head of Abiud, he designated the figure as "le prophète Abiud."⁶ Abiud, however, is not a prophet but rather is listed in the Gospel of Matthew (1:13) as an ancestor of Christ. Moreover, he was of such minor consequence that he was not included in the genealogy of Christ given in the Gospel of Luke (3:23–38).

The state of the question regarding the figure of Abiud remained as Grodecki had left it, with scholars heeding his advisory concerning the windows of Saint-Remi, published in 1958, that "il ne sera jamais possible de les bien connaître: une destruction partielle, en 1915–1917, avant toute étude sérieuse et avant tout relevé ou photographie, nous interdit de leur faire, dans l'histoire du vitrail, la place à laquelle ils avaient sans doute droit."⁷ In 1979, following the completion of her volume for the *Corpus Vitrearum* on Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury in which the genealogy of Christ had played an important part, Madeline Caviness approached Grodecki with the intention of undertaking a study on the glass at Saint-Remi as a complement to her work on Canterbury. Grodecki did not live to see the results of this research, but her ensuing scholarship radically altered previously held theories by proposing a "rémois" stained-glass atelier that worked at Saint-Remi, Canterbury, and Saint-Yved at Braine.⁸ The results of this research prompted Caviness to reattribute the Museum's figure of Abiud to Saint-Yved rather than to Saint-Remi. Her thorough examination of the glass itself also determined that a significant amount of glass in the lower two panels (No. 10) is original.⁹

There are several reasons why Grodecki's attribution of the Museum's figure to Saint-Remi is not tenable. The clerestory figures in the eighteen apertures of the straight bays of the choir at Saint-Remi, whose identity Caviness established from nineteenth-century notes and photographs, were either prophets or patriarchs.¹⁰ Furthermore, studies by Caviness of the extant glass from Saint-Yved, beginning with the figures at Soissons and the relevant documents, show that the thirty-three clerestory windows at the Abbey of Saint-Yved (excluding the axis) would have contained a total of sixty-four ancestors in two tiers, an arrangement similar to the eighty-eight fig-

ures originally contained in the upper windows at Canterbury.¹¹ Abiud is included among the extant figures that she has so far identified.¹²

In addition to Caviness's convincing arguments, the post-medieval history of the abbey church itself lends credence to a Braine attribution. The Premonstratensian Abbey of Saint-Yved at Braine survived intact until 1650, when it was pillaged by the Spaniards. At the start of the French Revolution the church was closed, only to reopen briefly as a parish church. By 1793 its treasury was confiscated, and its royal tombs were vandalized. A sale of furnishings in 1809 further displaced the possessions of the church. The church was little more than a ruin by 1820, when a royal ordinance ordered the land to be sold. The sale of the church was delayed, and some work of preservation seems to have been undertaken at least on the chevet between 1829 and 1848, so that the demolition, begun in 1832, was confined to the nave. Only its two eastern two bays survive.¹³ Several eighteenth-century accounts mention the stained glass while it was still in situ, yet when Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) visited Braine after 1840 all the stained-glass windows were gone. He did, however, add in his notes that the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons had received a considerable amount of glass from Braine.¹⁴ Guilhermy's observation was confirmed in the middle of the nineteenth-century by LeClerq de la Prairie and by Stanislas Prioux, both of whom stated that two-hundred fifty panels of stained glass had been brought to Soissons from Braine and used in the cathedral to repair damage caused by the 1815 explosion of a nearby gun-powder depot that blew out many of the building's windows.¹⁵ The restoration at Soissons following the explosion was conducted in such a haphazard manner that the notes Guilhermy later made there, in 1842 and again in 1864, remark on the confused state of the glass in almost every window.¹⁶ In the aftermath of another disastrous restoration at Soissons, carried out during the second half of the nineteenth century under the initial direction of Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806–1867), only one window, located in the north turning bay of the apse clerestory and containing four large ancestor figures surrounded by small-figure medallions from the rose windows, survives of the two hundred fifty panels from Braine cited by de la Prairie and Prioux that had once been installed at the cathedral.¹⁷

The fate of the Braine glass that was moved to Soissons can be deduced from a letter written in 1884 by Édouard Corroyer of the office of the Ministère de la Justice et des Cultes, who in it made reference to an earlier authorization to take down some of the ancient glass and to use it in one of the dependencies of Soissons Cathedral. Corroyer also stated that the glass was, at that time, stored in the atelier of Didron's nephew, Édouard-Amédée (1836–1902),¹⁸ who after his uncle's death assumed the role of

official glazier for Soissons Cathedral and continued as such until 1890. When Édouard Didron died in 1902, any glass remaining in storage in his atelier presumably passed into the hands of Jean-Baptiste Anglade, whose ambition to use it in creating an “École du vitrail archéologique” was thwarted.¹⁹ Very shortly thereafter stained glass from Braine and Soissons appeared on the art market. In 1906 Isabella Stewart Gardner (1840–1924) bought from Bacri Frères a large window from Soissons to be installed in the gothic-style chapel in her Boston mansion, and four years later Raoul Heilbronner sold two figures from Braine to Henry Walters (1848–1931) of Baltimore.²⁰ Abiud surfaced at Bacri Frères in 1914.

Iconographic program: The generations of Christ’s ancestry are recorded twice: in the Gospels of Matthew (1:1–16) and of Luke (3:23–38). While the representation of Christ’s genealogy in the form of separate windows depicting individual ancestors is rare in French stained glass of the beginning of the thirteenth century, it is known at Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury and at the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi at Reims.²¹ Guilhermy noted in 1855 that at Saint-Remi he saw in one of the upper windows of the hemicycle the figures of Abiud, Eliacim, Nathan, and Ozias, all of whom are ancestors.²² The iconographic source for the genealogical windows at Saint-Yved, as Caviness has suggested, given the traditional connections between the church’s founder, Agnes of Braine, and “a queen of England,” may have been Christ Church Cathedral at Canterbury.²³ The closest comparisons of style, composition, and iconography with glass at Braine are to be made with the windows on the north side of the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury, glazed about 1190–1207.²⁴ This range of dates coincides with the reign of Queen Isabella, who was crowned at Canterbury in 1201. Caviness concluded that the Braine master who made at least part of the series was the same individual as the French painter she had previously suggested had worked at Canterbury.²⁵

It must also be kept in mind that contemporaneous with this series at Canterbury is a similar genealogical series at Saint-Remi in Reims. The seven surviving ancestor figures now in the retrochoir tribune at Saint-Remi, according to Caviness, may have come from the nave aisles and date from the 1190s. (Unlike the Braine figures, however, those at Saint-Remi all stand rather than sit upon thrones, and all wear crowns.) Given Caviness’s hypothesis of a traveling “rémois” atelier, these figures further reflect the considerable interrelationships – both iconographically and, as we shall see, stylistically – between Canterbury, Saint-Remi, and Braine.²⁶

The Braine program differs from that at Canterbury in the textual source used for the ancestors. At Canterbury, the genealogy is taken from Luke – with the exception of six additional figures chosen in somewhat random order

from Matthew.²⁷ While only nine of the sixteen Braine ancestors have been identified by inscriptions, the majority are found either in both Gospels or only in Matthew. Abiud is one of those appearing only in Matthew. Cainan, now in Soissons, is mentioned only by Luke. Comparatively, Matthew’s account ignores the earliest generations, of which Cainan is one, and begins with Abraham, while Luke’s Gospel records the genealogy without omission from Adam to Jesus. In order to complete the lineage from the first to the second Adam, it would have been necessary to employ Luke (3:34–38). But even by adding the early ancestors from Luke (twenty names) to Matthew’s entire genealogy (forty-one names), the list would still have been short of the number required to fill the thirty-five lancets (with two figures per lancet) at Saint-Yved, assuming that the axial bay contained the figures of Christ and the Virgin and that God the Creator was paired with Adam. Perhaps a similar substitution of additional figures from the other Gospel pertained at Braine as it did at Canterbury.

Style and date: The Braine ancestor figures have often been confused with the prophets from the clerestory program of Saint-Remi at Reims.²⁸ Considering similar peculiarities of style, such as the folded piles of drapery and the chin curl of the beards, this association is not surprising. It was only when Caviness proposed that these two programs and a third at Canterbury were projects completed by a group of glaziers evolving over time that the discussion could be reformulated in a more cogent way.²⁹ In terms of style one can see specific responses by the artists to the architecture at Braine that further differentiates the glass there from the earlier program at Saint-Remi. For example, a three-panel division for the seated figures at Saint-Remi occurs only in the central light of the triplet, while at Braine all figures followed a tripartite formula. Furthermore, the central lights at Saint-Remi are more than 61 centimeters (24 inches) taller than those at Braine. Abiud without his modern border would measure 1.78 meters (5 feet 10 inches) in height and would fit easily, with his companion figure Eliacim and a decorative border, into the Braine clerestory lights of almost 4 meters (13 feet) in height but would hardly be large enough to fill the central apertures at Saint-Remi, which rise over 4.5 meters (15 feet). The atelier that created the clerestory figures at Saint-Remi about 1182–85 was somewhat bolder in approach than its incarnation of about 1200 at Braine. The hair-thin trace lines in the drapery of the Braine ancestors replaced the broader, simpler fold lines at Saint-Remi. It is as though the earlier shop responded to the greater height of the clerestory at Saint-Remi and the greater distance from the viewer with clear, simplified images. At Braine, a smaller church, the detail is more refined and the line more exquisite.

Caviness’s research on the dating of Saint-Yved at Braine, based on primary source material, indicates that

the building campaign started about 1176 at the earliest and was perhaps completed by 1206/1208, instead of 1216 as was formerly proposed.³⁰ (Anne Prache prefers a building campaign stretching from 1185/90 to c.1208.)³¹ A 1208 completion would bring the date of the Braine glazing nearer to the program at Canterbury that it so closely resembles. Chronicle evidence supports this connection: an eighteenth-century account reported that the windows were installed at the behest of Agnes of Braine, the founder of the church, as a gift of her relative, “a queen of England,” perhaps her grandniece Isabella of Angoulême, wife of John Lackland.³² This must have been accomplished before Agnes’s death in 1204, which provides a convenient terminus ante quem.

Bibliography: Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6109, fols. 248 and 257, describes figures originally from the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine depicting prophets and ancestors of Christ (which may have included Abiud); Stohlman 1917, p. 174, attributes the figure to the style of the clerestory lights at Saint-Remi; Porter 1919, pp. 39–43, pl. I, ascribes the glass to the nave glazing of Saint-Remi; Breck and Rogers 1929, p. 116, dates the Abiud panel to the twelfth century; Cary 1932, pp. 338–39, discusses technique and notes that only the head of the figure is exhibited; Grodecki 1953, pp. 247–48, attributes the head of Abiud to the choir of Saint-Remi; New York 1970, vol. 1, pp. 195–96, no. 202, repeats Grodecki’s attribution; New York 1971, no. 5 (No. 9, acc. no. 14.47a); Hayward 1971–72, pp. 112–13, repeats that attribution and states that the original body remains in situ at Saint-Remi; Grodecki 1975d, pp. 65–73, fig. 3, dates the glass of the clerestory of Saint-Remi between 1185–1200 (somewhat later than his earlier opinion), based on Prache’s study of the architecture; Grodecki 1977, pp. 134–37, ill. 115, and pp. 287–88, no. 79, confuses the identity of Abiud through a reference to the earlier group of Christ’s ancestors in the tribune, while the clerestory figures are called apostles and prophets, thus excluding Abiud, the ancestor (Matthew 1:13); Ancien 1980, vol. 1, pp. 94–95, pl. following p. 99, no. 4, incorrectly identifies Abiud as part of The Cloisters Collection and compares the style of Abiud’s head with that of three patriarchs at Soissons Cathedral (bay 103), purporting that all four were the work of the same unknown atelier; Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 46 n. 40, identifies the figure, together with those at Soissons, the Glencairn Museum, and others, as depicting a series of ancestors of Christ that originated in the clerestory of Saint-Yved; Hayward in CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 95, follows Caviness’s identification and publishes the figure, including the body, as coming from Saint-Yved at Braine, dating to about 1200; Caviness 1990b, pp. 121–28, 147, and 339–47, fully develops the thesis of a “rémois” workshop with commissions at Saint-Remi at Reims,

Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury, and Saint-Yved at Braine, and further explores the stylistic interconnections between the three, cataloging the head of Abiud and the separate torso and feet, along with fifteen other ancestor figures, as belonging to a Saint-Yved clerestory program; [Caviness 1994, p. 973].

9 and 10. Bust of Abiud and the Body of an Ancestor of Christ

Arch-shaped panel (Bust of Abiud, No. 9):

Two rectangular panels (Body of an Ancestor of Christ, No. 10):

Overall 195 × 87 cm (76¾ × 34¼ in.)

Bust (14.47a) 67.3 × 87 cm (262½ × 34¼ in.)

Mid-body (14.47b) 64.1 × 87 cm (25¼ × 34¼ in.)

Legs (14.47c) 63.5 × 87 cm (25 × 34¼ in.)

Rogers Fund, 1914, (14.47a–c)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 9–10, 9/a, 9/1 and 2, 10/a, 9–10/figs. 1–5

Description: A bust with a bearded head is nimbed with a red halo bordered by a white fillet; above a tawny pink face sits a green pointed cap. At the neckline is a garment of green with a greenish white mantle over one shoulder. An inscription in Roman capitals is painted in reserve on a horizontal band placed just below the figure’s eye level. The torso and legs belong to a separate but related figure that is seated frontally on a high-backed throne and is clothed in a white undergarment cuffed in blue over which an olive green tunic is covered by a draped white mantle belted in blue. The right hand, raised across the figure’s chest, extends its index finger, while the left hand gathers folds of the mantle over the left knee; the right knee falls outward to the side. Both hands are a brownish pink, lighter than the color of the face. The lower part of the figure wears blue shoes and yellow leggings, with a red hem appearing above the leggings.

The throne back of two golden yellow parallel spindles terminates in round knobs and a flat, horizontal slat decorated at top with a scalloped edge. The seat of alternating levels of green, yellow, white, and green glass rests upon golden yellow rectangular legs. Projecting obliquely from the throne base of alternating layers of murrey and green is a white and golden yellow footrest that supports the figure’s feet. At shoulder level the blue of the background shows between the spindles and the top slat; however, the background area between the spindles behind the remainder of the torso and between the legs of the throne is red.

Inscription: AB IVD.

Condition: Since 1982 the entire composite figure has been displayed in the galleries of medieval art at the



9-10. *Bust of Abiud and the lower part of another Ancestor of Christ.* Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, c. 1200



9/1. Bust of Abiud,
current condition



9/2. Panel condition,
pre-restoration



9/a & 10/a. Restoration chart

Metropolitan Museum. The head of Abiud was restored in 1980 (9/1 and 9/2; the most comprehensive restoration undertaken on this figure since its purchase by the Museum), when the network of repair leads that distorted and disfigured the face were removed and the glass was glued. Because many of the edges had not been grozed



9–10/fig. 2. *Jechonias*. Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, c. 1200. Now at Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais

they formed a clean break. Others that did not fit perfectly, such as the diagonal break across the nose and the break across the mouth, were filled. During this restoration work the overpainting on the trace lines was removed, and the pitting on the back cleaned.³³ The white and red bands surrounding the figure are not original, nor is part of the blue background, and there are a few stopgaps in the drapery; they are all part of a restoration that preceded the Museum's acquisition of the figure. Whether this took place during the time the figure was in the possession of Bacri Frères or whether it was done earlier by either of the Didrons cannot be definitively known.³⁴ In 2000 all three panels that comprise this composition were framed with a brass channel.

Composition: The head and shoulders depicted in the top panel, in Caviness's opinion, belong to the figure of Abiud. The middle and lower panels, however, illustrate another figure in the ancestor series, whose garments do not match those of Abiud.³⁵ The different colored interior backgrounds between the throne spindles (blue in the top panel and red in the lower two panels) provide additional evidence to support Caviness's judgment.³⁶ The arched top of the surmounting panel bearing the inscription on a horizontal band is a type found in the figure of *Jechonias* (9–10/fig. 2), also from Braine but now at Soissons. Like *Jechonias* – as well as *Aminadab* and *Salathiel* (9–10/figs. 3 and 4), the two other figures from the series now at Soissons – Abiud lacks the embellishment of an architectural canopy and, therefore, must have been placed in the upper section of a window where the restrictive curve of the arch precluded its use in the lancet head. At Braine as at Canterbury each of the windows contained two ancestors seated one above the other, with the canopy of the lower figure forming a base for the throne of the upper one.³⁷ Unlike many of the figures at Canterbury, however, most of the Braine figures sit with both feet on the same level, resting on the throne rail. The feet of the Museum's figure differ from the majority in that they are placed on a small, obliquely angled footrest of the throne. Another such footrest accompanies the composite figure of a king at the Glencairn Museum.³⁸



9-10/fig. 3. *Aminadab*. Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, c.1200. Now at Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais

Iconography: At Saint-Yved, as at Christ Church Cathedral Canterbury, the genealogical series of Christ's ancestors drew from the Gospels of both Matthew (1:1-16) and Luke (3:23-28), as discussed above (see **Iconographic program**). The identification of Abiud as an ancestor of Christ is found in Matthew 1:13. Matthew's Gospel divides the generations from Abraham to Christ into three times fourteen. The first group extends from Abraham to David, the second from David to the Babylonian captivity, and the third from the captivity to Christ. Abiud belongs to the third generation, after the Babylonian captivity. Some of the ancestral figures at Braine hold scepters and wear crowns. Others, such as Aminadab (9-10/fig. 3) and Cainan, do not. Abiud belongs to the

latter type, and, like Salathiel (9-10/fig. 4), he wears a pointed hat emblematic of his Hebrew identity.³⁹ Unlike the genealogical figures at Canterbury, some of the ancestors from Braine had nimbi, satisfying the need for a space filler in the composition.

As previously noted, Abiud apparently was an upper figure in the two-tiered arrangement used at Braine. While the exact location of specific ancestors in the clerestory windows is uncertain at present, a working hypothesis can be proposed. The series could have started in the first clerestory bay on the north side, using Luke's early generations and including God the Creator placed above Adam, as Cainan's presence (Luke 3:36) would indicate; the sequence would then have switched to Matthew's



9-10/fig. 4. *Salathiel*. Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, c.1200. Now at Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais

9-10/fig. 5. *Zacharias*. France, Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c.1150/c.1200



list after Jechonias, in order to include Abiud. He would have appeared above Eliacim in the southwest bay of the south transept. This arrangement would place Jesse and David, the best known of Christ's ancestors, in the axial bay.⁴⁰ The three remaining bays on the south side of the nave, which would have remained empty if Matthew's list of ancestors alone had been followed after David, were filled by "borrowing" from Luke. The tactics are the same at both Braine and at Canterbury, but the sequence of ancestors borrowed are transposed.⁴¹

Costumes and furnishings: Among the genealogical figures from Braine, Salathiel wears the same bowl-shaped cap with a peak and white brim as does Abiud, but without a nimbus. The painted neck band of Abiud's robe is a feature also found in the bust of Jacob in the Glencairn Museum as well as beneath the mantle of Aminadab at Soissons.⁴² Painted bands of decoration, such as the cuffs and belt of

the Museum's Abiud, are characteristic of ancestor figures from Braine. They are not unlike ornament on some of the ancestor figures at Canterbury, as Caviness has demonstrated.⁴³ The throne back terminates in turned knobs, like those shown on the thrones of Aminadab, Jechonias, and Salathiel at Soissons. Painted ornament on the posts and the horizontal slat of the seat back is also present at Soissons on the same three thrones. Each is a minor variant of the other, demonstrating the virtuosity of the painters. Within the Museum's figure itself, the scalloped edge of the back slat in the panel containing the head of Abiud differs from the notches and circles that form the ornament of the throne in the lower panels.

Technique: Trace lines vary dramatically; thick strokes made with a loaded brush diminish to hairline thinness to define a fold or facial feature. Where the drapery pulls tightly against a leg or wrist, a series of wire-fine lines describe its tension. Characteristic of this atelier's painting style is the manner in which the tendons on the back of the hand are drawn with lines that appear like the seams in a glove. Another common shop practice is the use of a circle surrounded by a tightly curled beard to emphasize the chin, a distinguishing feature also found in the figures of prophets at Saint-Remi (9–10/fig. 5). A light and a dark mat tone help to accentuate the soft, swaglike drapery folds that delineate such forms as the bend of an arm, the slight protrusion of the abdomen, or the cinched roundness of the waist as they fall and fold over upon themselves in continuous and harmonious linear rhythms. The edges of the silhouette remain simple and restrained, while the restless movement of line is contained within the mass.

Photographic reference: Negative 22120 dates from 1914, when the figure entered the Museum's collection. Negative 77326, showing the head of Abiud, was made prior to 1929, when the lower two panels were removed from exhibition. Negative 230243, which reproduces the entire figure, and negative 230646, which presents only the head, were executed following the most recent restoration.

NOTES

1. For the Braine glass dispersal, see Caviness 1990b, p. 79. The *Seated King* (03.SG.234A–C) in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, was purchased from Bacri Frères, Paris, while the *Bust of Jacob* (03.SG.230) likely came either from Bacri or from the Parisian dealer Raoul Heilbronner (d. 1941); see CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 108 and 109. The two clerestory figures from Braine now in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, were also acquired from Heilbronner; see CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 56.
2. Letter to Joseph Breck from A. Kingsley Porter, 3 June 1918, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files.
3. Letter to James Rorimer from Louis Grodecki, 18 October 1953, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Department of Medieval Art, departmental files. The comparative photograph illustrated the eighth window on the north side of the nave. For Simon's assessment of the glass at Saint-Remi, see Simon 1959, pp. 14–25.
4. For Abiud at Saint-Remi, see Caviness 1990b, pl. 248b. Grodecki's argument was amplified in Grodecki 1975d, pp. 65–77, in which he concluded that the ancestor series in the Saint-Remi tribune is earlier than the windows of the upper choir and was reused in the present tribune. Also see Caviness 1990b, p. 124, who argues that it is later (c. 1200). In his letter of 18 October 1953, Grodecki stated that he had the impression that Rorimer had shown him the figure of Abiud in storage and that the two lower panels were entirely false, but that the head was genuine. He cautioned, however, that his examination of the glass was too rapid to affirm anything and that parts of the figure seemed to contain genuine pieces.
5. Grodecki's "certitude" that the bust of Abiud came from Saint-Remi of Reims is stated in his letter of 6 September 1953. The head alone was displayed in the exhibitions "The Year 1200" (1970) and in "Stained-Glass Windows: An Exhibition of Glass in the Metropolitan Museum's Collection" (1971); see New York 1970, vol. 1, pp. 195–96, no. 202, and Hayward 1971–72, pp. 112–13, respectively. See also Grodecki 1975d, p. 67 n. 9, in which he reiterated his belief that the body belonging to the Museum's head of Abiud remained at Saint-Remi. Doubts about the lower two panels had existed since 1929, when Museum curator Joseph Breck "retired" the panels from exhibition. For the composition of the cycle, see *ibid.*, p. 67, and Grodecki 1977, p. 138. A similar arrangement of Old and New Testament figures is found a half-century later in the clerestory of the cathedral of Saint-Jean at Lyons.
6. Grodecki 1975d, p. 68, ill. 3, and Grodecki 1977, p. 136, ill. 115.
7. Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 108.
8. The most complete discussion by Caviness of the "rémois" workshop as it developed through painting campaigns in each of these sites is found in Caviness 1990b. Earlier articles discuss specific issues in more detail: Caviness 1984a, pp. 524–48, traces the chronology of the building campaigns at Saint-Yved in Braine and publishes related documents; Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, pp. 34–47, includes the first list of the dispersed stained glass from Saint-Yved now in American collections.
9. According to Caviness's findings, the body is from a different figure in the Braine clerestory cycle. In Caviness 1990b, p. 341, she notes that "the right half of the lowest panel is heavily restored."
10. Caviness 1990b, pp. 107–17, 142–44, fig. 5, and Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, p. 46 n. 43, designates them as patriarchs and adds that none of the frontal patriarchs at Saint-Remi have modern heads. The fifteen lights of the turning bays of the choir contained New Testament figures. Both Moses and Baalam seem to have been included, but they were often added to the prophets in the twelfth century since both appeared in miracle plays; see Mâle 1978, p. 146. Abraham is also included but as a patriarch rather than an ancestor.
11. The number at Canterbury is based on the table published in CV Great Britain II, p. 9, and the arrangement indicated in Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, p. 41, figs. 9 and 10.
12. For a checklist of the ancestor figures identified by Caviness, see Caviness 1990b, pp. 145–47, and 339–47.
13. The history of the church, including a review of the literature, is given in *ibid.*, pp. 73–78. The most complete list of references and documents is given in Caviness 1984a, p. 524 n. 1, and Appendices 1 and 2, pp. 546–48.
14. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6097, fol. 142v.
15. See Caviness 1990b, p. 79. The government files for the maintenance and restoration of the stained glass at Soissons are found in Paris, Archives Nationales, F (19)7887–91 (1807–1906).
16. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6109, fols. 254–58, transcribed in Caviness 1990b, pp. 152–56.
17. For a reconstruction of the stained glass in the apse windows of Soissons Cathedral as it appeared about 1850, see Beaven 1989.

18. For discussion of glass seen in Didron's atelier, see Caviness 1990b, p. 79. For Corroyer's letter, see *ibid.*, p. 156. From the 1850s through the 1880s, it was certainly acknowledged by both Guilhermy and de la Prairie that stained glass from Braine filled many of the apse windows in the Cathedral of Soissons. The rationale for the restoration in the early nineteenth century seems to have been the removal this glass and the replacement of it with restorations of iconographic themes original to the cathedral, as was done with the restoration to the clerestory window depicting the *Life and Death of the Virgin*; see Beaven 1989, pp. 164–66.
19. Jossier 1912, pp. 232–33.
20. For Gardner's purchase of the Soissons panels, see Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, pp. 7–26; for the Braine figures bought by Walters, see Caviness 1990b, p. 346.
21. Caviness has discussed the genealogical windows at Canterbury in Caviness 1977b, pp. 107–15, and in CV Great Britain II, pp. 7–62. For the genealogical figures at Saint-Remi (whose heads are much smaller than those of the Museum's Abiud), see Caviness 1990b, pp. 57–58 and 142–47.
22. See *ibid.*, pp. 142–44.
23. See Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 40 and 44. For comparative chronologies of the production of the "rémois" atelier, see Caviness 1990b, pp. 102–3.
24. Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 42.
25. For the most recent review of the argument, see Caviness 1990b, pp. 119–24, developed in part from earlier discussions in Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 44; CV Great Britain II, p. 16; and Caviness 1977a, pp. 30–31.
26. See Caviness 1990b, pp. 57–58 and 145–47 (a concordance of extant ancestor figures from Canterbury, Braine, and Reims listed in consort with the genealogies from Luke and Matthew). For a discussion of the Reims figures, see Grodecki 1975d, pp. 70–77.
27. See Caviness 1990b, pp. 145–47, and CV Great Britain II, pp. 8–9.
28. On this question, see Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 40–41.
29. Caviness 1990b, pp. 98–128.
30. These questions are studied in Caviness 1984a, pp. 524–48, and enlarged upon in Caviness 1990b, pp. 73–76.
31. [See Prache 1994, pp. 105–18, esp. pp. 106 and 114.]
32. See Lefèvre-Pontalis 1912a, p. 429, and Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 44.
33. This work, which involved only the pieces composing the face, was done at the Greenland Studio, New York.
34. The only clue to the date of this restoration might be found in Corroyer's letter of 1884, in which he recommended for exhibition in the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs the glass stored in a dependency of Soissons Cathedral, whence it had been removed. This comment suggests that the glass was in a condition good enough to warrant exhibition in Paris at that time, provided it was consolidated. This may well indicate that the repairs were made in Didron's studio. See Caviness 1990b, p. 156, and Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 38.
35. Caviness 1990b, p. 341. One should add that the folds lying in the lap of the figure that loop back upon themselves and those that pull tightly against the right leg of the figure are almost from the same cartoon – or certainly from a variant of the cartoon – for Aminadab at Soissons.
36. See *ibid.*, pp. 341–42, and Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 46 n. 40.
37. On the composition of these windows and their relationship to Canterbury, see Caviness in *ibid.*, pp. 40–44 and figs. 9–10.
38. For the Glencairn king, see Caviness 1990b, p. 344, and CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 108.
39. Scepters, crowns, hats, and nimbi depicted with the Braine ancestors may be compared in the catalogue of surviving glass from Saint-Yved in Caviness 1990b, pp. 340–47. [For the use of the Jewish pointed hat for a Hebrew ancestor, see Mellinkoff 1993, pp. 59–60, 73–74, and 91–93.]

40. There would have been little need to break the genealogy with three historiated windows, including a *Last Judgment* as at Canterbury, because at Braine the *Last Judgment* was placed in the west rose.
41. At Canterbury the use of Luke's list stops with Nathan on the north side of the choir, pauses to include eight random choices from Matthew, and then returns to Luke on the south side of the choir. The positions are diagramed in CV Great Britain II, p. 9. For Caviness's discussion of the Braine clerestory iconography as well as for a concordance of the ancestors of Christ depicted at Canterbury, Braine, and Reims, see Caviness 1990b, pp. 87–88 and 145–47.
42. Illustrated in *ibid.*, pp. 343 and 340, respectively.
43. Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 42–43 and figs. 9–10.

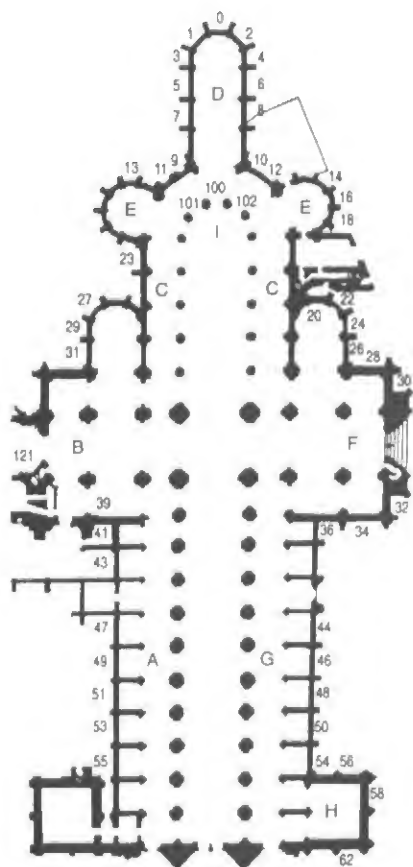
11. A PANEL FROM THE LEGEND OF THE SEVEN SLEEPERS OF EPHEBUS WINDOW France (Seine-Maritime), Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, nave aisle (?) 1200–1210

Related material: France (Seine-Maritime), Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Chapel of saints Peter and Paul, six partial panels: *Sealing of the Cave*, *Malchus returns to the Cave with Food*, *Malchus's Journey to Ephesus*, *Four of the Seven Asleep*, *Three of the Seven Asleep*, *Court of Theodosius (?)*; United States, Massachusetts, Worcester, Worcester Art Museum, *Messengers inform Theodosius* (1921.60); Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum, *Malchus tries to buy Bread* (03.SG.49) and *Malchus accused* (03.SG.51).

History of the glass: This panel, previously in the collection of Raymond Pitcairn (03.SG.161) was acquired from the Glencairn Foundation for The Cloisters Collection in 1980. Pitcairn (1885–1966) had purchased the glass through his agent, Richard Melchers, from Augustin Lambert, a Parisian dealer, on 13 August 1923. Lambert obtained the panel at the Bonnat sale held at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, on 9 February 1923, when part of Léon-Joseph-Florentin Bonnat's collection was put up for auction.¹ Bonnat (1833–1922) had been a prosperous academic portraitist of considerable reputation in Paris from the 1870s on; early in the twentieth century he was named director of the École des Beaux-Arts. During the course of his long life, Bonnat channeled much of his wealth into the formation of a comprehensive, didactic art collection for the edification of his students as well as his own enjoyment.² It is not known precisely when Bonnat acquired the panel (see **Original location**, below).

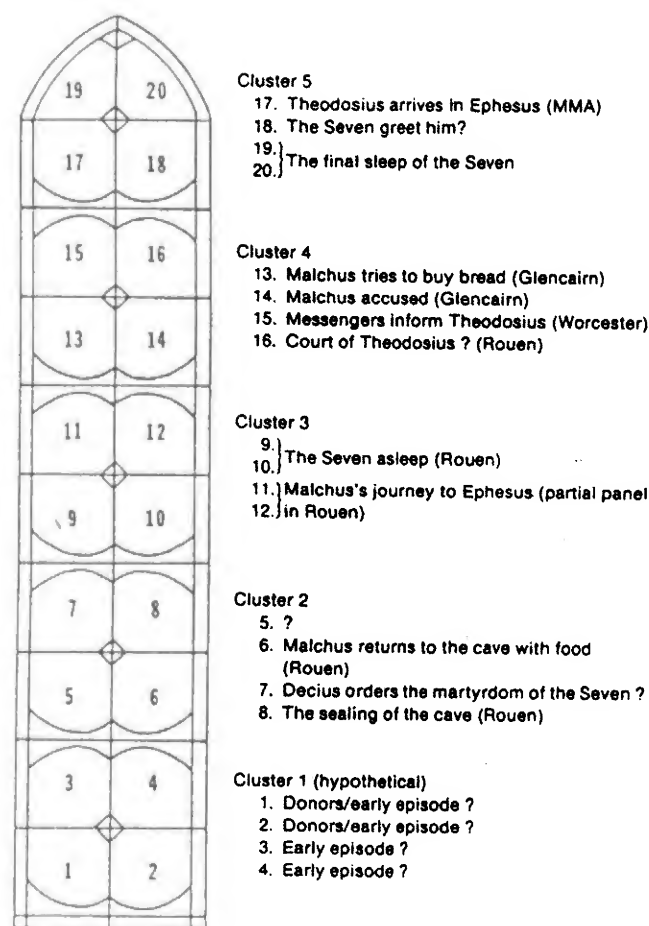
Original location: The window depicting the legend of the *Seven Sleepers of Ephesus* from which this panel comes was originally made for one of the nave windows of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Rouen (11/fig. 1).³ By the year 1200 a new nave had been in the course of construction for more than a decade, begun at the western facade

and built eastward; three bays on the north and four on the south were partially completed. On the eve of Easter in that year a fire totally destroyed the Romanesque choir and transept. Funds were hastily raised, largely from John, king of England and duke of Normandy (r. 1199–1216), who was persuaded by Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen (1140–1207), to make substantial contributions.⁴ Work proceeded rapidly, and glazing kept pace with the construction, even after John was driven out of Normandy by Philip Augustus, king of France (r. 1179–1223). When Philip made his ceremonial entry into the cathedral in 1204, it is assumed that the nave was nearly finished.⁵ A major altar, which may have been a provisional one set up at the eastern end of the nave, was consecrated in 1207,⁶ indicating that some of the nave windows may have been installed by that time.



11/fig. 1. Floor plan, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (after Callias Bey 1993)

By 1270, however, the lower nave wall and its windows were being removed to create devotional aisle chapels between the nave buttresses, increasing the number of altars for the faithful. Reasons of economy, as Jean Lafond has suggested,⁷ rather than any overwhelming aesthetic regard for the so-called "*Belles Verrières*"⁸ dictated the reemployment of the original glass in four bays of the nave: the chapels of Saint-Jean-de-la-nef and of Saint-Sever on the north side, and the chapels of the Throne of St. Peter and of Sainte-Colombe on the south side. The



11/fig. 2. Reconstruction of the Seven Sleepers Window, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (after Cothren 1986d, fig. 5)

panels were trimmed to fit the narrower, rectangular compartments of the Rayonnant-style windows of the new chapels. Two of these ensembles of reused glass still exist on the north side of the nave.⁹ Notations on a sketch plan of the cathedral made by local antiquarian Eustache Langlois (1777–1837) some time before his death – while the windows were still in situ – indicated that panels from the legend of the Seven Sleepers were installed in the Chapel of the Throne of St. Peter.¹⁰ Michael Cothren has proposed a tentative reconstruction of this Seven Sleepers window. (11/fig. 2).¹¹

Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, an attempt was made to reorganize the glass in the nave chapels. By 1856 it is likely that all the glass in the south chapels was removed and modern glass substituted; it, in turn, was destroyed in the bombardments of 1944. Between 1832, when Langlois last reported on its presence in the Chapel of the Throne of St. Peter on the south side of the nave, and 1856, when Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) first visited the cathedral (and in his description did not remark on any such panels in that chapel), the Seven Sleepers series vanished, including the Museum's scene of *Theodosius arrives at Ephesus*.¹²

While the reorganization of the glass in the nave chapels may have followed the major restoration of the high vaults of the nave that took place between 1840 and 1844,¹³ from 1830 to the end of the century some part of the cathedral was undergoing restoration or refurbishment, and no specific document exists regarding the work done on the glass. Panels removed from the nave were put in storage on the second floor of the Tour Saint-Romain along with other discarded pieces. In 1911 Jean Lafond, on leave from military service, inventoried the glass in storage at the cathedral.¹⁴ He recorded fifteen narrative panels, eleven ornamental fragments, and twenty-nine border pieces. This remaining glass was securely packed in cases for the duration of the war. However, when Lafond next visited the storage room in 1931 to choose some glass to be shown in an exhibition, he found that many panels had been removed from their crates and replaced by stones to give the semblance of weight. In Lafond's inventory of 1911, number nine is described as "trois personnages à cheval. Beau panneau en bon état, 70–80 cm." Although this piece was missing from the storage depot upon Lafond's return in 1931, from Lafond's description it can be none other than the Museum's panel, *Theodosius arrives at Ephesus*.¹⁵ At some point between 1911 and 1922, the year Bonnat died, the panel left Rouen. In all probability, Bonnat was its first private owner, having acquired the panel in the last decade of his life.

Iconographic program: As in the nave of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres and the choir of the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges, both of which are contemporary with Rouen,¹⁶ the windows of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Rouen appear to have been given by local guilds. Confirmation of this can be found in donor figures identified as tanners, masons, or carpenters as well as stone carvers and sculptors located among the debris remaining from the nave windows.¹⁷ Of the subjects so far recognized in the windows at Rouen Cathedral, most concern saints of wide popularity, such as John the Baptist, Nicholas, Stephen, Peter, Martin, and Catherine, or those of local veneration, such as St. Sever, bishop of Avranches.¹⁸ A number of these were among those saints for whom the cathedral possessed relics and who were later honored as patrons of the nave chapels, the construction of which necessitated the destruction of these windows. It would thus seem that at Rouen Cathedral, as at Chartres, the personal preference of the donors rather than any preconceived iconographic program, such as that devised and controlled by the chapter for the choir at Bourges Cathedral, played a part in the selection of subjects displayed in the windows. In addition, the choice of subjects in the glazing program at Rouen was most likely influenced by which relics the church owned and by the dedications of the altars;¹⁹ indeed, relics specifically determined the subject matter for the windows of saints John the Baptist, Nicholas,

Peter, Catherine, and Sever, all of whom were later named patrons of the nave chapels. Furthermore, haste – again as at Chartres – may have been a decisive factor in the rebuilding and may help to explain the apparent lack of a decisive iconographic program at Rouen.²⁰

Of all the windows in the Rouen nave, however, the presence there of one devoted to the *Seven Sleepers of Ephesus* is the most difficult to explain. The scene depicted on the Museum's panel, showing the Roman emperor Theodosius II (408–450) arriving at the city gate of Ephesus on horseback with two companions, occurs toward the end of the Seven Sleepers legend. After several hundred years of divinely induced slumber to escape persecution for their Christian beliefs at the order of Emperor Decius (249–251), the seven men of this tale were awakened when the sealed cave in which they had been imprisoned by Decius's soldiers was inadvertently opened by a wealthy sheep owner seeking stones to build an enclosure. The Christian Theodosius, informed of the miraculous survival of the seven, hastily journeyed to Ephesus to see them for himself. Greeting and venerating them, the emperor heard their story, after which the seven again fell asleep, but this time into the sleep of death.²¹

The legend of the Seven Sleepers is so rarely depicted that no iconographic tradition for its representation has evolved, except for the isolated scene showing the seven asleep on their bed, which is used occasionally as the initial for Psalm 33 in Psalters.²² The only narrative cycle known thus far occurs in a late thirteenth-century legendary, but the four scenes represented there have no relationship to the Rouen glass.²³ The Seven Sleepers window at Rouen appears to be a unique example with no iconographic precedent. It is a frankly narrative cycle and follows the sixth-century version of the legend introduced into the West by Gregory of Tours,²⁴ an account certainly known in Rouen.

Michael Cothren suggests that the choice of this subject was motivated by political considerations, while Lafond argues for local preference.²⁵ Conceivably both played a part in the selection. Perhaps there was an alliance between the English king John and the English archbishop of Rouen, Walter of Coutances, to honor the memory of Edward the Confessor by placing his especially revered legend of the Seven Sleepers in a window at Rouen.²⁶ In my opinion, however, all three men were Norman, and if the Seven Sleepers attained popularity in Normandy, such renown was probably inspired by Edward himself as the founder of a long-standing tradition stemming from his many years in Rouen, rather than through a revival orchestrated by his distant Plantagenet relative King John. For this reason a terminus date of 1204 as proposed by Cothren should be extended. The legend was first recorded by Gregory of Tours, and early in the thirteenth century it became the subject of an Anglo-Norman poem.²⁷ It is highly unlikely

that the faithful at Rouen or their clergy would not have known the legend or would not have wished to see it commemorated in their building.²⁸ It would have been as though, by including his vision, they were honoring St. Edward as one of their own local saints, which in effect he was. His own life would be recorded in a Norman window at Fécamp little more than a century later.²⁹

Style and date: Louis Grodecki was the first to identify the master who made the Seven Sleepers window as the same artist who had made the St. John the Baptist window at Rouen.³⁰ The hair-thin trace line employed by the St. John master is distinctive, giving softness and complexity to drapery folds and descriptive volume to details, as seen in the anatomy of Theodosius's horse. The remarkable sense of volume imparted by this master to his figures makes believable such complex overlapping as that of the three horsemen. The origins of the St. John the Baptist master are currently unknown. Cothren has suggested that there may have been an English connection, but this question requires further study.³¹ In all probability, by the beginning of the thirteenth century a center of the size and importance of the Norman capital of Rouen would have developed its own group of stained-glass makers that might well have included a painter as accomplished as the St. John the Baptist master. It is generally conceded that the glazing of the nave at Rouen most likely kept pace with the construction, and Lafond has pointed out that the needs of the cult necessitated haste to such a degree that the existing foundations of the Romanesque structure were reused. Chanoine Jouen and Anne-Marie Carment-Lanfry believe that the stone construction (the western four bays of the nave) that remained standing after the fire of 1200 would have permitted the glazing of this part of the nave to have begun soon thereafter.³² Cothren has suggested a date of 1200–1203 for the Seven Sleepers window, because its association with Edward the Confessor is most consistent with this peaceful period, characterized by a cordial and mutually supportive relationship between King John and the Rouen archdiocese, a situation that was quickly transformed in early 1203.³³ I would propose that in itself the popularity of this legend in Normandy would extend this time frame at least to 1204, the end of English rule.

Bibliography: Bonnat Sale 1923; Lafond 1970, pp. 262–64, first identifies the panel as part of the Seven Sleepers window; Lafond 1975, pp. 299–416, fig. 10, is the first thorough article on the history of this window, including a list of surviving panels; Hayward 1981b, pp. 24–25, ill. p. 24, announces the acquisition of the panel and dates it to 1205–10; New York 1982, no. 56(D), offers a general review of the history of the glass and reviews the dating between 1204, the consecration of 1206, and a terminus of 1210; Sauerländer 1982, p. 388, cites the panel as part of the exhibition documented in New York 1982; Cothren

1983 inventories and gives a preliminary discussion of the panel as well as related panels and fragments in France and the United States; Cothren 1984, pp. 21–25 and 34, provides a popularized discussion of the panel, including post-medieval history and its place within the Seven Sleepers window; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 96, ill., gives basic information and bibliography; Cothren 1986a, pp. 41–47, ill., reconstructs the original design of the window; Cothren 1986d, pp. 203–26, presents the current state of research on this panel and the window from which it came; [Cothren 1998, p. 158 and n. 14; *Gesta*, vol. 37 (1998), caption for color cover ill., dates the panel to 1200–1203; New York 1999, pp. 99–100, reproduces the panel in color; Timothy B. Husband in Carboni et al. 2001, p. 34; CV France, *Recensement VI*, p. 351.]

Theodosius arrives at Ephesus

Rectangular panel: 63.5 × 71.5 cm (25 × 28¼ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1980 (1980.263.4)

Ill. nos. 11, 11/a, 11/1, 11/figs. 1 and 2

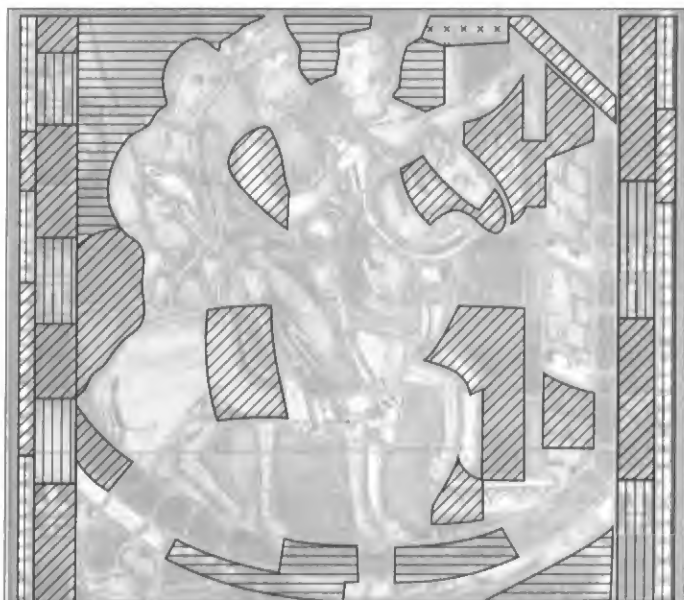
Description: Set against a blue background, three figures on horseback approach a gatelike entrance way. The red interior of the entrance is framed on either side by thin, dark green fillets, with dark green masonry supporting a white threshold. Alternating bands of blue and yellow masonry mark a lateral wall, with thin horizontal bands of blue and red designating the doorway's lintel. The central figure, crowned in golden yellow, wears a dark murrey mantle over a very pale green robe and sports yellow boots; he sits astride a horse of striated, tannish pink glass, equipped with a green saddle and golden yellow stirrups. The lead rider points the way; he is dressed in a golden yellow mantle and rides a very pale green horse whose golden yellow breastplate is partly visible. The rear horseman wears a dark green mantle over a golden yellow robe and rides a blue horse, equipped with a golden yellow saddle. A fragment of striated red foliage remains at upper left. The narrative field is framed at bottom by red and white fillets; at the left spandrel interstice are remnants of white, blue, and green foliage against a red ground, matched at right by blue, red, white, and yellow fill. At upper right, thin diagonal fillets of white and blue edge a triangle of red and green fill. The lateral borders are comprised of alternating groups of golden yellow fleurs-de-lys and castles bordered by blue and red, respectively; thin pearly fillets mark the lateral edges.

Condition: The panel was cut into a rectangle at the time the glass was reused in the Rayonnant windows of the nave chapels constructed between the buttresses about 1270.³⁴ The castle and fleur-de-lys border was added to



11. *Theodosius arrives at Ephesus*. France, Rouen, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, 1200–1210.

11/a. Restoration chart



the panel at that time. A number of losses and perhaps three different restorations can be detected in the piece. Perhaps the oldest is that by the restorer who repainted pieces in the design with a stipple technique. His work can be seen in the emperor's left shoulder, part of the horse's neck and belly (where considerable effort was made to match the unusual brownish, striated pink glass out of which the animal was cut), and a repair around the eye of the figure at right. The very flat, densely colored glass – unpainted for the most part – inserted next to the head of the horse, the green piece to its right, the two red fillet pieces on each side of the horse's front feet, and the purple-blue piece inserted in the gate account for a second

restoration. The unpleasant color of this glass and its flatness suggest that this restoration took place early in the nineteenth century. A third restoration, probably in the twentieth century before the panel was acquired by Pitcairn, is distinguished by mat painting of the glass to simulate age. A number of pieces in the upper background and the framing fillets stem from this restoration (11/1).

During 1993–94 the panel was cleaned and reordered by Marie-Pascale Foucault. Heavy putty obscuring the faces was removed, and broken pieces of glass were glued. Poor nineteenth-century restoration work was replaced with newly painted pot-metal glass. Deteriorated grisaille paint in the emperor's and rear horseman's faces was retouched with cold paint. The lead horse's leg was removed from the architecture and replaced in its proper position; the ears of the rear horse were revealed during the releading process. Missing parts were replaced with painted new pot-metal glass, including the lead horse's head, the rear horse's rump, the neck and nose of the emperor's horse, plus portions of the masonry and background pieces. The borders were reconfigured, with fleur-de-lys and castle elements more evenly and symmetrically distributed. A new fleur-de-lys was added.

The condition of the glass throughout the many restorations over time has remained strong. The glass itself is very transparent and has little pitting.

Composition and color: This scene was originally part of a cluster medallion window composed of four lobes surrounding a lozenge, part of which can be seen in the upper-right corner. Following Cothren's reconstruction of the Seven Sleepers window (11/fig. 2), the scene of Theodosius arriving at the gate of Ephesus should have been in the lower-left quadrant of the top cluster medallion in the window.³⁵ This would place the scene after the discovery of the miracle and before the end of the legend.

The limited color scheme employed in the Seven Sleepers window is extraordinarily subtle. Two distinct blues were used throughout the Seven Sleepers series and can be identified in this panel: the deep, rich cobalt of the background, achieved with an exceptionally thick and uneven glass, and the lighter blue with a turquoise tint of the rear horse and the painted brickwork of the city gate. Golden yellow, dark green, and a very pale green serve for costumes, the front horse, and details of setting. A light, very streaky red is employed in variations ranging from densest red in the edge fillet to palest red with diffused tan striations in the



11/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration

foliage. Dark murrey is often reserved by this artist for the costume of the most important figure; in this case, it serves as the emperor's mantle. There are two flesh tones of tan, one with a yellow tint and the other with a pink cast. The most unusual color here (and which seems to have been a favorite with the artist) is a striated, tannish pink, used for the emperor's horse; it is as though the pinkish murrey and the yellower of the flesh tones were mixed together and spun into crown glass to achieve this distinctive color.

Ornament: The master who created the Seven Sleepers window employed ornament sparingly in his scenes. The remains of the foliate ornamental field to the left below the pictorial scene in the Museum's panel were no doubt part of the background of the original window. Within this area is a cluster of leaves curled around a sprig of berries very like that surviving in the panel of Malchus returning to the cave with food.³⁶

Technique: The technique used in the panel is standard, albeit handled with virtuoso competence. The applications of trace range from hair-thin lines to medium-thick strokes. The application of mat as shading often flows from light to medium dark without interruption. As seen in the rump of the pink horse, the mat appears to have been applied wet over wet tone, an extremely difficult and rapid process. The hair of the figures and manes of the horses are delineated by a flat tone of mat over trace lines, with highlights added with a stylus.

Photographic reference: A photograph of the Seven Sleepers panel while it was part of the Pitcairn collection, negative 181, shot by Michael Pitcairn, is the property of the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania. When acquired by The Cloisters in 1980, the glass was photographed in its pre-restoration state both in black and white and in color for publication (negative 223185 and New York 1982, fig. 56 [D] and colorplate VIII). Post-restoration photography was executed by the Museum's Photograph Studio in 1994 (black and white negative, 265167) and in 1997 (color transparency).

NOTES

1. The Bonnat collection was not included in the ex-collections section of my discussion of this panel in New York 1982, no. 56(D), because of my confusion in interpreting the documents in Raymond Pitcairn's files. I now know that the "Horsemen" panel purchased by Melchers and referred to in a letter dated 19 February 1924 from Lambert to Pitcairn must have been this panel representing Theodosius on horseback.
2. Weisberg 1980, pp. 271–73; a letter from Augustin Lambert to Raymond Pitcairn dated 19 February 1927 in the Pitcairn Archives, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, states that the three panels from Breuil-le-Vert (Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 03.SG.109, 03.SG.110, and 03.SG.209) were found in the studio of one of Bonnat's students.
3. For a more detailed discussion of the attribution of the Seven Sleepers window to Rouen Cathedral and its history, see Cothren 1986d, pp. 203–26.
4. Accounts of the rebuilding are given in Loisel n.d. [1913], pp. 11–14; Jouen 1932, pp. 12–27 reviews theories, cites the documents, examines the structure, and provides an hypothesis; Carment-Lanfry 1977, pp. 25–30, offers a brief review of the evidence.
5. Loisel n.d. [1913], p. 11.
6. Carment-Lanfry 1977, p. 30; the consecration is given as 1206 in Loisel n.d. [1913], p. 11. On the dating of the nave aisle windows, see Cothren 1986d, pp. 209–12 and 216–18, who suggests that glazing continued for some time.
7. Lafond 1975, p. 400.
8. On the term "*Belles Verrières*" in the fourteenth century, see Cothren 1986d, p. 219 n. 2.
9. See Ritter 1926, pls. I–VIII. The arrangement of the glass in the Chapel of Saint-Jean-de-la-nef is illustrated in color in Cothren 1986a, fig. 2.
10. This plan was once in the possession of Jean Lafond; Lafond 1975, pp. 399–400. Evidence for glass in this area is also found in Langlois 1823, p. 12, and Langlois 1832, pp. 29–32. Langlois noted on the sketch that among the upper panels in the Chapel of the Throne of St. Peter was a panel that contained an inscription beginning with *hic: hic ante pre sul (em) [. . .]*. This inscription can still be read on the panels in the Seven Sleepers series depicting Malchus Accused now in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania; see New York 1982, no. 56(C).
11. See Cothren 1986d, esp. pp. 205–6, 220 nn. 16 and 27, and figs. 5–8. It may be possible to further refine our understanding of the actual size of the original lancet openings by consulting Ritter 1926, p. 2, who states that the exceptionally clear plates in his volume have been reproduced at exactly 1/10 scale. If the edge lines in the cut-down panels of the plates published by Ritter are continued, the widths of the figural panels in at least three of the windows can be determined: all come out to the same dimension, precisely 7 centimeters (2¾ inches), or 70 centimeters (27½ inches) actual size. Twice this measurement plus an 18-centimeter (7⅞-inch) border on each side would give a width of approximately 1.76 meters (69¼ inches) per window, or slightly more if one counts the distance required for the heart of the irons.
12. Guilhermy, who visited the cathedral in 1856 and again in 1864 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. ms. 6107, fols. 139–140v), does not mention the glass; de Lasteyrie 1853, p. 183, who did not visit Rouen himself, quotes what Langlois said about the glass.
13. See Jouen 1932, pp. 141–42. [More recently, see CV France, *Recensement* VI, p. 333.]
14. Lafond describes this incident in Lafond 1975, p. 401.
15. For the relationship of this panel to Lafond's inventory, see Cothren 1986d, pp. 220 n. 11 and 225–26.
16. The rebuilding of Chartres began directly after the disastrous fire of 1194 with construction of the nave, and its windows were in place by 1210; see Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 61. Bourges was begun at its eastern end in 1195, and the choir was in use by 1214 at the latest, with presumably all its windows in place; see Branner 1962, pp. 60–63.
17. Ritter 1926, pls. I, III, and IV.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–41.
19. This question has already been discussed elsewhere in this catalogue (see Nos. 7 and 8). It was common practice in Plantagenet-controlled territory at Angers, Le Mans, and Poitiers to devote windows to saints of whom the church had relics. At Chartres this practice obtained in the cases of saints Lubin, Thomas Apostle, Theodore, and Thomas Becket; see Popesco 1970, pp. 55–62.
20. On Chartres, see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, text vol., pp. 14–18. On Bourges, see Grodecki 1975c, esp. p. 341. [More recently, there has been a renewed discussion as to whether a coherent iconographic program existed at Chartres. See in particular Caviness 1992a; Williams 1993; CV France, *Études* II; Kurmann-Schwarz 1996; and Pastan and Shepard 1997, pp. 26–28.]
21. For an English rendition of the legend, see Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 2, pp. 15–18.
22. See Cothren 1986d, pp. 208 and 221 n. 33.

23. See *ibid.*, p. 221 n. 32.
24. For Gregory of Tours, see Krisch 1893, pp. 371–87.
25. Cothren 1986d, pp. 208–12, discusses the association of the Seven Sleepers legend with Edward the Confessor and suggests that King John's generosity to the rebuilding is commemorated in the window. The legend's potential association with the local popularity of Byzantine subjects is discussed in Lafond 1975, pp. 405–7.
26. See Cothren 1986d, pp. 208–9 and 221 nn. 36–39.
27. For Gregory of Tours, see n. 24 above. For the poem, see Chardry's Josaphaz, *Set Dormanz und Petit Plet*, ed. John Koch (Heilbronn, 1879), pp. 76–123.
28. St. Edward's vision of the Seven Sleepers turning in their sleep was

widely known. It is included in a twelfth-century version of his life, also a poem. See Södergard 1948, pp. 234–41.

29. See [Caviness] 1963, pp. 22–37.
30. Lafond 1975, p. 399.
31. Cothren 1986d, p. 223 n. 62.
32. Jouen 1932, pp. 14–15, and Carment-Lanfry 1977, pp. 27–29.
33. Cothren 1986d, pp. 209–12, and [Gesta, vol. 37 (1998), caption to color cover ill.].
34. Lafond 1975, p. 400.
35. Cothren 1986d, figs. 5 and 8.
36. See *ibid.*, pp. 207–8 and fig. 6.

12 & 13. TWO PANELS FROM A LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS WINDOW

France (Aisne), Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, ambulatory (?)

C. 1200–1210

History of the glass: These two panels were acquired in 1980 from the Glencairn Foundation.¹ Prior to that time they were in the collection of Raymond Pitcairn (1885–1966) of Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, and little was known about them. A re-examination of the Pitcairn files, however, strongly suggests that these two pieces were purchased in 1923 from Bacri Frères in Paris. No information survives regarding how the panels came to Bacri Frères.²

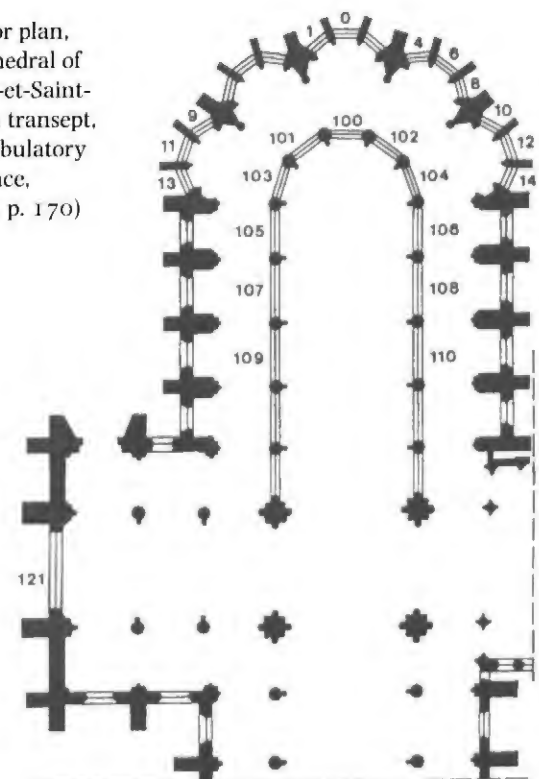
Original location: Although there is no documentary proof, scholars have accepted these two panels on stylistic grounds as originating in the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons (12/fig. 1).³ Circumstantial evidence is provided by the first radiating chapel on the south side of the choir at the cathedral, dedicated to St. Nicholas, whose altar there was founded by Alard le Drapier.⁴ Perhaps this chapel contained a window devoted to the life of its patron, even though this practice is hard to verify at Soissons because so little of the glass in the original fifteen ambulatory windows survives, as detailed below.

The first disaster that befell the glazing at Soissons was the sack of the cathedral by the Huguenots in 1567, during which, a contemporary account records, they broke everything they could reach with halberds and threw stones at what they could not.⁵ Following the return of the building to the Catholic congregation, there appears to have been a restoration by a local glazier in 1580; by 1728 the colored glass seems to have been concentrated in the eastern part of the church, while most of the other windows were replaced by colorless glass.⁶ During the course of a general refurbishment of the choir, in 1772 the chapel of the Virgin was filled with thirteenth-century windows from the nave; they fortuitously survived destruction in 1815 when two nearby powder magazines exploded and blew out most of the windows on the south side of the cathedral. Whatever was left of the St. Nicholas window, presumably in his chapel

located on the south side of the choir, must have been severely damaged in the explosion. A hasty restoration followed about 1817, when, together with random fragments from the cathedral, stained glass brought from the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine was used to fill the losses in the cathedral's windows. The resulting patchwork of glass mixed large clerestory figures alongside smaller-scale figures from ambulatory panels. One contemporary antiquarian, de la Prairie, noted that "it would be difficult to bring order to this *pêle-mêle* of stained glass." Abbé Pécheur, in his *Annales du diocèse de Soissons*, observed that "everything was replaced haphazardly and for effect, without order and without intelligence."⁷

The most extensive accounts of the windows during the nineteenth century are those of Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878), who began his series of notes in 1842.⁸ By 1860 another restoration was underway, supervised by Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806–1867),

12/fig. 1. Floor plan, Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, north transept, choir, and ambulatory (after CV France, *Recensement I*, p. 170)



who had become glazier to the cathedral in 1850.⁹ Didron's nephew, Édouard-Amédée Didron (1836–1902), succeeded him in his work at the cathedral. In 1864 the younger Didron invited Guilhermy to examine some of the Soissons glass being repaired in his studio, enabling the baron to correct his earlier notes.

Among other scenes used as fill that Guilhermy noted in 1864 were “many small medallions belonging elsewhere. . . . Several scenes from the life of a holy bishop, among others an entombment.”¹⁰ Evidence from the baron's renewed observation suggests that the Museum's St. Nicholas medallions were patched into holes in the clerestory window (bay 104) whose theme was a narrative depiction of the *Life and Death of the Virgin*. The large figures of this window immediately attracted attention to the misplaced small subject panels.

The confirmation that the panels related to the window of St. Nicholas were among those scenes “from the life of a holy bishop” observed by Guilhermy in Didron's studio rests on the present reduced size of the panels. Each of them measures exactly 40.5 centimeters (16 inches) in width, including the full dimensions of the edge lead, and would therefore fit the 80-centimeter-wide openings (31½ inches) of the armature in the Soissons clerestory windows. The dimensions of this glass plus the borders matches the width of the large clerestory figures that Caviness has shown to come from Soissons.¹¹ It is possible that the Museum's St. Nicholas panels, like the many other early thirteenth-century panels from Soissons now in museum collections, entered the art market following the younger Didron's death in 1902.¹²

Iconographic program: The iconographic program of the stained glass that illuminated the choir of Soissons Cathedral during the consecration ritual on 13 May 1212 has become better understood because of the continuing identification of additional Soissons panels in collections outside the cathedral. Guided by Guilhermy's text and early photographs of the glass before its post-1860 restoration, there is every expectation that more will be recovered.¹³

Overall, the iconographic program of the cathedral's glazing appears to have been strongly hierarchical in nature. While the axial Jesse Tree in the choir hemicycle – presumed to have been a gift from King Philip Augustus (r. 1179–1223) – can be understood as representing royal authority, the windows devoted to the lives of saintly churchmen in the lower ambulatory chapels (including the chapel and window of St. Nicholas) recognized not only ecclesiastical but also episcopal authority appropriate to the site.¹⁴

Both of the Museum's panels most likely were once part of the cathedral's St. Nicholas window and illustrate a portion of an early event in the saint's life that is rarely included in windows devoted to him. The legend of the unjustly accused knights (or princes) is one of the most

extensive episodes within the narrative of the life of St. Nicholas. According to *The Golden Legend*, three princes, who had been sent by the Roman emperor to quell a tribal rebellion, were forced by adverse winds to put in to an Adriatic port, where they were met by Nicholas and invited to his house. During their stay the princes witnessed Nicholas's rescue of three innocent soldiers who had been unjustly condemned to death. The Museum's two panels come from this sequence in the narrative (see below). The princes eventually continued on their journey and successfully ended the rebellion without bloodshed. Shortly after their return to the emperor, however, the princes themselves were falsely accused of treason and summarily condemned to death without a trial. One of the princes, recalling that recently they had seen Nicholas save three innocent men from death, urged his companions to pray for the saint's aid. As a result, Nicholas appeared that night to both the emperor and the consul (who had been bribed to accuse the princes), threatening them with calamity should they not free the prisoners. Awakening from their sleep, the emperor and consul related their dreams and summoned the princes. Upon realizing that the visions were the work of a holy man, the emperor freed the princes and entreated them to take gifts to Nicholas in his name and ask that Nicholas remember him and his reign in prayer.¹⁵

This episode was the most important of St. Nicholas's miracles in the Greek East and was crucial for the development of the saint's cult in the Latin West.¹⁶ Among the early thirteenth-century windows devoted to St. Nicholas in French cathedrals, it was recounted only at Saint-Étienne at Bourges, where it occupies three registers (nine scenes).¹⁷ In contrast windows dedicated to St. Nicholas at the cathedrals at Chartres and Auxerre do not include the legend of the three knights (princes).¹⁸

Composition: Although the Museum's St. Nicholas panels have been cut down both vertically and horizontally, their original composition can still be determined. The window of which they were part seems to have been made up of rectangular scenes arranged under arcades, a type of composition that did not become usual in French stained glass until about 1220.¹⁹ It would appear, based on these two panels, that the composition alternated in horizontal rows between the use of arcades with three arches and two colonettes and those with two arches supported on a single, central colonette, similar to the disposition of the St. Chéron window at Chartres.²⁰ This arrangement of rectangular panels in a grid pattern is equally reminiscent of older windows of the twelfth century, including the remains of an Infancy cycle and a *Public Life of Christ* at Bourges that have been dated c. 1160–70.²¹ It is also not unique at Soissons itself, however, since other panels identified as coming from a *Life of St. Blaise* (now in the Musée Marmottan, Paris) also have a rectangular format.²² One



12/fig. 2. *Annunciation of the Martyrdom of Saints Crispin and Crispinian*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, 1195/1210–15. The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

of them has a cityscape in the background and another, from the top of the window, fits the curve of the pointed arch yet still retains a part of the original border and framing fillets that confirm its original shape.²³ The rectangular format of the St. Blaise and St. Nicholas windows at Soissons seems to follow a general trend in the design of the cathedral's narrative windows.²⁴ The window of saints Crispin and Crispinian is composed of a vertical line of circles (12/fig. 2), and the Nicasius and Eutropius window consists of large circles divided into quadrants (12/fig. 3); the *Life of St. Giles* window demonstrates the most complex format in its use of tangential ellipses that form a four-petal shape. These simple geometrical formats, together with the plainness and narrowness of the window borders, make an elegant contrast to the classicizing tendencies of the figure style at Soissons.

Based on the actual measurements of the chapel windows, 8.2 by 1.6 meters (26 feet 11 inches by 47½ inches), the St. Nicholas window probably included three panels per register with a narrow border similar to the St. Nicasius window (12/fig. 3) and, depending on the height of the scenes and the amount of architectural embellishment of the arcades, upward of thirty scenes in the window, an unusually extensive narrative cycle. The St. Nicholas window at Bourges is divided by straight irons into six scenes per medallion, bounded by a large circle and bisected horizontally into three compartments above and three below.²⁵ The two central scenes in that window are almost rectangular in shape and may suggest the original shape of the Museum's two cut-down Soissons St. Nicholas panels.

Style and date: The style of the early glass at Soissons is so distinctive that in spite of the many calamities that beset the cathedral, causing so much loss to its windows, any remains are easily identified. These two panels serve as a case in point. The classicizing tendencies of the style have been designated as indicative of art about the year 1200.²⁶ In fact, other panels from Soissons by the same atelier that made the St. Nicholas scenes were included in the exhibition "The Year 1200," which attempted to define the characteristics of this pervasive style.²⁷ Of crucial importance to its definition at Soissons is the slender, elongated figure type with particular grace of movement and gesture. Large eyes; long, slender noses; and small, drooping mouths are typical of the faces. Most characteristic, however, are the soft, clinging draperies that wrap loosely around the body or fall in tiny, troughlike folds, which have given to the style the designation *Muldenfaltenstil*. Its origins have been recognized in another medium, a Psalter, made for King Philip Augustus's unfortunate



12/fig. 3. *Lancet with Scenes from the Lives of St. Nicasius and St. Eutropia*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, 1195/1210–15. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, Massachusetts

queen, Ingeborg of Denmark, perhaps during the time she spent at Saint-Quentin or in Soissons itself, awaiting a decision of the papal council on her marriage.²⁸

The choir of Soissons was consecrated by the canons in 1212, and Carl Barnes believes that the glazing of the radiating chapels could have begun by 1205 or before; chaplaincies were founded for the Soissons choir chapels as early as 1208.²⁹ A date before 1209 would therefore be acceptable, since the east windows at Laon, which have been thought to predate Soissons but are actually contemporary with them, can be dated close to 1210, the year the chevet at Laon was completed.³⁰

Photographic reference: Both panels were photographed in black and white and color by the Museum's Photograph Studio at the time the panels were first exhibited in 1982. Individual negative numbers are given with each catalogue entry.

Bibliography: *MMA Annual Report* 1981, p. 42, announces the acquisition of the panels for The Cloisters Collection; Hayward 1981d, pp. 25–26, ill., follows the traditional dating of 1210–1215; *Chronique des Arts* 1982, p. 40, fig. 205, publishes the acquisition by the Museum; New York 1982, nos. 51 and 52, and pls. VI and VII, reviews the history of Soissons Cathedral and the glass but continues the traditional dating; Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, p. 10, lists the glass from Soissons, including panels now in American collections; Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 38–41, cover ill., and pls. 27 and 28, accepts the attribution on stylistic grounds; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 97, gives basic information and bibliography; Suse Childs in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, pp. 25–33, discusses the style and iconography of the panels; Husband, Little, and Shepard 1987, pp. 82–83, fig. 74, relates the style to Meuse Valley tradition; Young 1988, p. 103, illustrates No. 12; Beaven 1989 reconstructs the glazing program from early descriptions; Beaven 1992, pp. 30–37, relates the style of a panel at the Detroit Institute of Arts to the St. Nicholas panels; [Sandron 1998, p. 43 n. 290; New York 1999, pp. 100–101; CV US VIII, vol. 1, pp. 155 and 158 compares Nos. 12 and 13 to DIA 1.]

12. *Three Innocent Soldiers condemned to Death*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protas, c. 1200–1210

12. Three Innocent Soldiers condemned to Death

Rectangular panel:

54.6 × 40.5 cm (21½ × 15½ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1980 (1980.263.2)

Ill. nos. 12, 12/a, 12/figs. 1–3)

Description: The consul is seated frontally at left on a backless white throne raised on the remnants of a white dais, his feet supported by a red footrest. He wears a red bowl-shaped cap, a green tunic over a long-sleeved pale yellow undergarment, and a murrey mantle, which he draws across his lap with his right hand while gesturing with his left. At right, standing on a white floor, are three





12/a.
Restoration chart

soldiers, two of whom reach for their swords (only the top of the third figure's head is visible behind his two companions). The soldier in the foreground wears a white shirt of mail, with the hood thrown back, over a green tunic, along with a murrey mantle, red leggings, and green shoes; at his waist is a deep gray blue scabbard. The soldier behind him is dressed in a blue hood of mail and a sleeveless murrey tunic over a pale yellow shirt. All faces and hands are a pinkish tan flesh tone. Together the figures mask the colonettes of the white and red triple arcade that forms the friezelike setting of the scene against a cobalt blue background (one green capital can be seen at left). An inscription, written in rustic capital letters painted in reserve on white glass, appears on a horizontal band running behind the heads of the figures.³¹

Inscription: [SN]ICO LAVS PR[A]ESES MILITES (St. Nicholas protects the soldiers).

Condition: The loss to the beginning of the inscription, which at left should contain the letters S and N, would indicate that the panel has been significantly cut down at that edge. There has also been some trimming at the right edge, for a total loss in width of about eight centimeters. In all probability the top of the central arch would have been visible and the turrets embellished with crenellations, while at the bottom the parapet might have been extended by a bridge arch or wall, thus adding another ten centimeters to the height of the panel and providing more space for the figures. Replacements in the lower-right corner most likely account for the loss of the third soldier's feet.

Iconography: This panel depicts the opening scene in the story of the unjustly condemned soldiers from the legend of St. Nicholas. Here the three men are sentenced to be beheaded. According to *The Golden Legend*, upon hearing of

this St. Nicholas rushed to the spot of execution and saved the soldiers from imminent death.³² This sequence forms an important "story within a story" in the larger narrative of the three innocent knights (princes), who were themselves subsequently accused of treason by the emperor.

Technique: The painting technique consists of a brownish black trace that increases its brownish cast as it becomes diluted, as it does in the inscription. A medium mat tone prevails for modeling, but the application technique is unusual in that a stiff brush is used to remove the mat, creating a soft edge in the shaded areas. This distinctive characteristic is seen predominantly in the heads of the figures. Only rarely is a second tone employed as a wash to strengthen the delineation of drapery folds.

Photographic reference: Negative 223183.

13. St. Nicholas accuses the Consul

Rectangular panel: 54.6 × 40.5 cm (21½ × 15⅞ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1980 (1980.263.3)

Ill. nos. 13, 13/a

Description: The consul, seated at right on a backless red throne supported by a white dais, his feet on a green footrest, raises his right hand. He wears a pinkish tan bowl-shaped cap (neck, head, and cap are of one piece of glass), brownish purple robe, white mantle, and pale yellow shoes. St. Nicholas stands at center confronting the consul and gesturing with both hands. Clothed in a murrey mantle, green and golden yellow tunic, white undergarment, and pale yellow shoes, the saint is identified by his white bishop's miter and red nimbus. At left, slightly behind



13/a.
Restoration chart

13. *St. Nicholas accuses the Consul*. Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c. 1200–1210



Nicholas, stands a male figure dressed in a red mantle, green tunic, red leggings, and green shoes; he holds a white baton. All faces and hands are a pinkish tan flesh tone. The figures stand within a friezelike setting composed of a red and white double arcade supported by a red colonette with a green capital and base, against a cobalt blue background. Red fillets edge the bottom of the panel.

Condition: The scene is framed by a double arcade with the supporting colonette and capital in the center of the composition, indicating that in its original, balanced state the panel would have extended about eight centimeters further at the right edge. With the exception of the fillet at the bottom, the major replacements in this panel are the

head of the figure at left and the consul's right foot as well as part of the background behind him.

Iconography: This panel furthers the story initiated in No. 12. Here St. Nicholas rebukes the consul who had condemned the three soldiers. *The Golden Legend* relates that St. Nicholas grabbed the executioner's sword just in time to save the men. Immediately following the soldiers' rescue, St. Nicholas, confronting the consul, admonishes him with the words, "You enemy of God, you perverter of the law, how dare you look us in the eye with so great a crime on your conscience?"³³ Upon seeing the consul repentant, the saint offers him his forgiveness.

Photographic reference: Negative 223184.

NOTES

1. Between Raymond Pitcairn's death and the settlement of the estate, the foundation that he formed had title to the property. The acquisition of the glass was made during that time.
2. Pitcairn's records are quite fragmentary and very general before 1923. The Bacri purchases are known only through later correspondence that mentions the pieces specifically. In 1921 Raymond Pitcairn had bid successfully on fourteen panels of stained glass at the auctions of the Lawrence Collection and by so doing had launched his career as a collector. (See Lawrence Sale 1921 and Jane Hayward in New York 1982, p. 38.) Realizing that the unprecedented prices for stained glass achieved in this sale would cause a ripple effect in the art market in Europe, Pitcairn shrewdly sought to lessen the impact on his future purchases. He cabled Winfred Hyatt, a young art student from Bryn Athyn whom he had sent to Paris to study stained glass, and instructed him to visit dealers and secure options for him on the best of their stained-glass panels. Hyatt, following orders, had already canvassed the market in Paris and had written his patron listing the desirable buys. Not realizing that Pitcairn intended to make some immediate purchases, Hyatt went off to Chartres to examine the glass at the cathedral. As a result, he never received Pitcairn's cabled reply, and, as Pitcairn had feared, the prices quoted on Hyatt's list rose precipitously. The following year Pitcairn sent to France the well-known stained-glass painter Lawrence Saint, also in his employ, to see if he could salvage the situation. Saint visited Bacri Frères, where Hyatt had seen the best glass, and saw in storage the pieces he had selected. Saint arranged to have the glass photographed and the negatives sent to Bryn Athyn. Later that year Pitcairn went to France, paid the higher prices, and bought three large Aisne figures as well as twenty-three smaller panels that he had selected. (Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, Glencairn Museum Archives.) Among these were the two St. Nicholas panels that were ultimately installed in Glencairn, Pitcairn's new house, below one of the large Bacri clerestory figures from Soissons – so placed because, with good reason (as will be demonstrated), they exactly fitted the space (see n. 11).
3. See New York 1982, pp. 137–39; Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, p. 10; Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 38; Beaven 1989, pp. 89 and 122–23; [and Sandron 1998, p. 43 n. 290].
4. See Barnes 1967, pp. 136–43, [and Sandron 1998, p. 42]. At the Twenty-Second International Congress on Medieval Studies (1987) at Kalamazoo, Michigan, Carl Barnes reported on a suit brought by the canons of Soissons Cathedral in 1782 to recover revenues that were being withheld (see Laon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. G253–254). Part of the canons' presentation involved a copy of a charter of 1190, which listed the names of the cathedral's ambulatory chapels. Beginning on the north, the chapels were dedicated to St. Stephen, St. William of Soissons, the Virgin, St. John the Baptist, and St. Nicholas.
5. M. Suin, "Procès-verbal devant notaires du 28 avril 1568 . . .," quoted in Barnes 1971, pp. 459–60.
6. The history of the glass at Soissons is summarized in CV France, *Recensement* I, pp. 169–70, and Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, p. 9; [see also Carl F. Barnes in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 29, pp. 17–18].
7. See de la Prairie 1858, p. 104, and Pécheur 1875, pp. 52–56.
8. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. ms. fr. 6109, fols. 248–58, reprinted in Caviness 1990b, pp. 152–56.
9. The contracts for the stained-glass restorations are Paris, Archives Nationales, F19 7887–7891. See also CV France, *Recensement* I, p. 170.
10. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. ms. fr. 6109, fol. 256, as published in Caviness 1990b, pp. 154–55.
11. See Caviness 1990a, p. 58. It is also why Raymond Pitcairn was able to install the two St. Nicholas scenes so conveniently below his large Soissons prophets/apostles glass without having to make adjustments in size.
12. See Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, pp. 9–10.
13. For Guilhermy's description, see n. 8 above. Also see Beaven 1989, Appendix I, pp. 147–83. The early photographs include MH 194109, MH 14414, LP-729 (S.P.A.D.E.M.).
14. Beaven has noted the presentation of twelve important relics, including part of the arm of St. Nicholas, to the Monastery of Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons by the bishop, Nivelon de Cherizy, in 1207. The Monastery of Saint-Jean was a dependency of the cathedral with many connections to the chapter. In addition, Bishop Nivelon died in 1207, at the shrine of St. Nicholas in Bari, while en route to Constantinople. See Beaven 1989.
15. Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 1, pp. 23–24.
16. Meisen 1931, p. 51. For a useful summary of the question, see Clare 1985, pp. 11–142.
17. CV France, *Recensement* II, pp. 173–74.
18. For Chartres, see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 1, pls. LXXI–LXXIV, and plate vol. 2, pls. CLVIII–CLIX; for Auxerre, see Raguin 1982, pp. 158–60.
19. The Museum's St. Nicholas panels are precocious in their use of arcades. Before 1200 arcades were employed more as a decorative device than as a structural one, as can be seen in the twelfth-century panels at Bourges (see, for example, Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pl. XXVII[K]) or in the St. Gervais and St. Protais window at Le Mans (see Hucher 1864, no. 9). From 1200 onward arcades were used increasingly as architectural components of the scene, as in the Museum's panels. With the St. Chéron window at Chartres, arcades organized the narrative in horizontal registers (see Grodecki 1978, pp. 43–64, and Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 71, ill. 58).
20. See n. 19 above.
21. See Grodecki 1977, pp. 88–90.
22. See Grodecki 1960, pp. 163–78.
23. Two additional panels from the St. Blaise series are now in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. They have been restored to a circular shape, which might also be part of the original design; see Beaven 1989, restoration charts figs. 41–46 and window format fig. 49, for a design including circles and square. See also CV US, *Checklist* II, pp. 28–29.
24. Some of these windows are diagrammed in Ancien 1980, vol. 1, pls. opposite pp. 69, 111, 155, and 166.
25. The St. Nicholas window at Bourges has twenty-four scenes, and the one at Chartres has twenty-five. See Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pl. XIII(B).
26. For a definition of this style, see the introduction by Konrad Hoffman in New York 1970, vol. 1, pp. xxxiii–xlili.
27. Jane Hayward in *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 208–9.
28. The psalter as an origin for this style in stained glass was first proposed and defined in Deuchler 1967, pp. 149–57. These ideas are summarized and expanded in Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 33–48. François Avril has reviewed the problem of the dating of the Ingeborg Psalter in relation to other manuscripts pertaining to the cathedral in Avril 1987, pp. 16–21.
29. Barnes 1967, pp. 136–43; [Barnes in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 29, p. 17; and Sandron 1998, p. 44].
30. Deuchler's date of 1205 for the Passion window at Laon is too early for the architecture of the chevet, which has been dated 1205–10; see Clark and King 1983, pp. 24 and 48–54. CV France, *Recensement* I, p. 162, dates the glass to 1210–15. [Most recently on this problem, see Lautier 2000b.]
31. The armor worn by the soldiers here is similar to that worn by soldiers in the Soissons Nicasius and Eutrope window now divided between the Louvre in Paris and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston (see Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, fig. 3). The backless throne with footrest on which the consul sits in this panel is a common type of seat for an authority figure. Comparative examples by closely related workshops are found in the *Christ in Majesty* panel at the chapel of the chateau of Baye (see *ibid.*, fig. 12), the *Departure of St. Eustace* scene in the *Legend of St. Eustace* window at Chartres (see Grodecki 1965, fig. 105), and in the *Coronation of the Virgin* panel in the Dormition window at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin (*ibid.*, fig. 112).
32. Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 1, p. 23.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

14. SECTION FROM A BORDER

France (Aisne), Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, or (Aisne), Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais

c.1200/1205–23

Related material: United States, Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum, section from a border (03.SG.154).¹

History of the glass: Little is known about the history of this panel prior to its purchase in 1992 from the Zurich dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler (1919–1996). Mrs. Kummer indicated that it had come from a “*brocante* dealer in Paris,” who provided no information regarding the previous owner.²

Original location: The border pattern of this panel was first associated with the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons by Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier, who published it in 1841–44 (14/fig. 1), then by Nathaniel Westlake over forty years later (14/fig. 2).³ Although the border was identified in both publications as coming from Soissons, Madeline Caviness rightly observes that these illustrations could represent glass not original to the



14/fig. 1. Border design ascribed to Soissons (from Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques Bordures M*[12])

14/fig. 2. Border design ascribed to Soissons (from Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, pl. LXIIIId)



cathedral but stopgapped into its windows early in the nineteenth century.⁴ The glazing of Soissons Cathedral sustained repeated campaigns of damage and restoration (see Nos. 9–10, 12–13, and 15–16), well before Martin and Cahier’s efforts in the 1840s. Consequently, identifications of ornament were based on the location in which it was found and do not necessarily reflect a panel’s place of origin. The Museum’s border is one of several panels that may have been transported to the Cathedral of Soissons as replacement glass following the 1815 explosion that destroyed most of the building’s southern glazing. Repairs were hastily made using stained glass displaced from the nearby Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine; regrettably, no comprehensive documentation survives regarding the subjects or designs of the glass employed.

Accordingly, Caviness catalogued the border pattern of No. 14 as among those possibly from Saint-Yved at Braine.⁵ This conjectural attribution is bolstered by stylistic relationships with other such “Soissons” panels, whose wide proportions and blocky geometricization of design suggest that they functioned as clerestory borders. The pattern of the Museum’s border echoes, in particular, that of a panel of ornament now at the Glencairn Museum in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (14/fig. 3).⁶ In each, the palmettes are constructed of discrete, self-contained elements that fit together like modular building toys, and the abstracted foliage displays symmetrically curling trefoil leaves that



14/fig. 3. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c.1200/1205–23. Glencairn Museum, The Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

turn inward, with trace boldly applied to emphasize the circular movement of the leaves as well as to mark their venation. These additive and graphic qualities also recall the running foliate borders surrounding the seated figure now at Glencairn (03.SG.233) and the prophet Caviness identifies as Joel now at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, Maryland (46.41).⁷ While both of these figures undoubtedly come from the clerestory of Soissons, their borders have been associated with Braine.⁸ Moreover, the style of the Glencairn and Walters border patterns is fundamentally dissimilar not only to the lithely elegant foliage that bifurcates and folds behind the Jesse Tree king originally installed in the clerestory choir at Soissons but also to the section from a border (No. 17) that Hayward associates with Soissons, variances that further point to a Braine origin for this panel.⁹

Glass from Braine and Soissons most likely became intermixed during the second half of the nineteenth century at the studio of Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806–1867), who began a renewed restoration at Soissons after 1860, or the atelier of his nephew, Édouard-Amédée Didron (1836–1902), who continued his efforts.¹⁰ As outlined in Nos. 9 and 10, panels from Braine appeared on the art market soon after the death of the younger Didron in 1902. Although there is no documentation linking either Didron with the two extant examples of this border design, both the Museum's panel as well as the example at Glencairn presumably left Soissons Cathedral under their aegis.

Style and date: Caviness has placed the design of the Museum's border within the orbit of her "rémois" atelier, comparing it to the border of the Genealogical window in the Trinity Chapel clerestory of Canterbury Cathedral.¹¹ Although the zigzag straps play a defining role in the organization of both designs, there are significant differences among them in the use of palmette foliage. The Canterbury foliage occupies only one side of the zigzag, its gently arching tendrils growing outward into the interstices of the opposite spaces to create a sequential, blocklike pattern. The organization of the Museum's border, on the other hand, resembles a running design, with palmettes sprouting inward (or sideways) alternately from each side to fill every interstice of the zigzag straps. The use of zigzag patterns in French border ornament is not unusual – for example, a strongly analogous zigzag clerestory border with sideways-growing palmettes can be found in bay 129 at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres (c.1205–1210).¹² Perhaps one can most profitably interpret the zigzag element within the Museum's border pattern as an "angularization" of the stem meandering between sideways-growing palmettes that Caviness also cites as part of the ornamental repertoire of her "rémois" shop.¹³ Indeed, the strong affinities that characterize the group of Soissons/Braine borders discussed in **Original location** above more firmly associate the Museum's panel within Caviness's "rémois" atelier than does the strict use of zigzag strapwork.

Stylistically, the graphic and modular palmette style of the Museum's border, along with its bold coloring, argues for an early thirteenth-century date. As such, it would be consistent with a date of c.1200 for Saint-Yved or c.1212 for the choir of Soissons (the year of its occupancy by the cathedral canons). The death date of King Philip Augustus (1165–1223), who provided funds for the axial *Tree of Jesse* window in the choir clerestory, provides a terminus ante quem.¹⁴

Bibliography: *MMA Annual Report* 1993, p. 33, ascribes the panel to the Cathedral of Soissons and dates it c.1225; New York 1999, p. 102, follows Caviness 1990b and CV US Checklist II, p. 113, for provenance and dating.

Border with Zigzag Pattern

Rectangular panel: 25.4 × 59.1 cm (10 × 23¼ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1992 (1992.284)

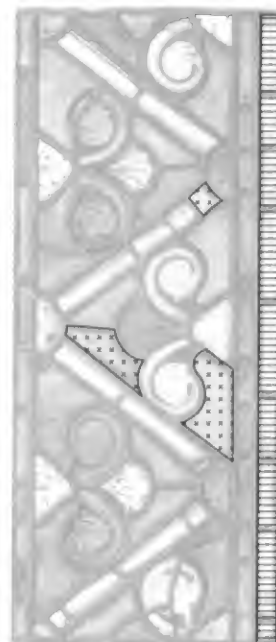
Ill. nos. 14, 14/a, 14/figs. 1–3

Description: Framed by lateral edge fillets of blue and red, the design of this border is boldly organized around a central zigzag pattern of white straps anchored at the edge fillets by dark green half circles painted with rosettes. The zigzag straps are delineated on their lateral edges by double



14. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, c. 1200/1205–23

trace lines on top of a single stroke of light mat. The interior triangular spaces created by the zigzagging straps alternate in deep lustrous blue and resonate streaky red. Filling each triangle is a sideways-growing palmette organized in a quasi-quatrefoil: the fan-shaped leaves at the palmette's crown and base join two symmetrically curling leaf fronds at the center. The paired leaves at the center curl out and then inward and are delineated by bold strokes of trace marking the venation. The palmette bosses surrounded by blue ground have creamy white bases, curling yellow leaves, and deep purple crowns. The palmette bosses on the ruby ground are composed of dark green curling leaves with aquamarine tops, and their bases vary in tone: the base of the lower palmette is a creamy white, while the upper base is an icy blue.



14/a. Restoration chart

Condition: The panel was in exceptionally good condition upon acquisition, with a minimal number of replacement pieces; only the white break-fillet at the outer edge is modern. Light surface patination covers the front of the panel, with deeper patination evident on the back. The weathering is consistently even and extends to all the leads. There is a small amount of paint loss, with the curling veins of the leaf fronds evidenced by ghost lines. In 2000 the panel was framed in a brass channel and cleaned with deionized water; several breaks were mended with epoxy.

Composition: The sense of movement and alternation engendered by the running zigzag at the panel's center is echoed in the leaves of the palmette bosses themselves. An implied median is created by the palmette crowns that are colored in turn aquamarine and deep purple. Similarly, the paired curling leaves at the palmette's center impose an opposing but implicit zigzag by means of the alternating deep green and yellow leaves. The strong yellow and dark green colors of these symmetrical pairs also work to emphasize the "running" aspect of this border design (see **Original location** above) by forming connoted parallel vertical strap lines. Viewed as an ensemble, this medley of implicit strapwork softens the strident white of the zigzag line.

Color: The bold colors of this border panel are truly exceptional. In particular, the deep plum purple, made of pot-metal glass for the palmette crown, is so saturated that it reads as nearly opaque. Similarly, the aquamarine used for the alternating palmette tops is remarkably liquid and jewel-like in hue.

Photographic reference: The panel was photographed in 1992 following its acquisition, negative 255492.

M.B.S.

NOTES

1. CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 113, and Caviness 1990b, p. 390, where the illustration caption is reversed with pattern no. B/S.b.3.
2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters, departmental files. Unfortunately, the history of the Glencairn panel does not shed any further light on this brief account. Raymond Pitcairn (1885–1966) probably purchased his example in the 1930s from the dealer Lucien Demotte (d. 1984). An inventory label suggested that it was part of a group of border panels (all of which were associated with Soissons Cathedral and the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine) assembled by Demotte for sale to Pitcairn; see Michael Cothren, CV US V (forthcoming).
3. Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques Bordures M(12)*; Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, pl. LXIII d. Madeline Caviness has also noted an original watercolor illustrating this design at the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris, “Dessins originaux [XIXe s.] 123: Vases-Vitraux, ‘9 feuilles originaux ... du R. P. Martin,’” no. 12; see Caviness 1990b, pp. 157, 357, and 390. Comparison between No. 14 and the design published by Martin and Cahier contradicts Jane Hayward’s suggestion that the Museum’s panel and Martin and Cahier’s illustration are one and the same (The Cloisters, departmental files). Variations in fillet color (yellow in Martin and Cahier, red in No. 14) and the lack of purple palmette crowns in the Martin and Cahier image (so distinctive to No. 14 and the Glencairn panel) suggest a more cautious approach.
4. See Caviness 1990b, pp. 78–79, 83, and 357; Caviness in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, pp. 37–38; and CV France I, p. 170.
5. Caviness 1990b, p. 390.
6. Glencairn Museum (03.SG.136). See CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 113, and Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Mosaïques Bordures M(1)*, where it is identified as from Soissons. In New York 1982, p. 144, Hayward proposed that this panel was part of a clerestory border.
7. See CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 111 and 57, respectively, and Caviness 1990a, pp. 62–64.
8. CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 111 and 57. Under such a scenario, borders displaced from Braine and used as replacement glass at Soissons would have been attached to the figures during a subsequent restoration.
9. For the head of the king from Soissons, see *ibid.*, p. 111, and New York 1982, frontispiece and pp. 140–42.
10. See Nos. 9–10, 12–13, 15–16, and 17, which extensively discuss the Didrons and the displacement of stained glass from Soissons Cathedral. See also Caviness 1990a, pp. 63 and 67 n. 25, and Caviness 1990b, p. 156.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 390, citing CV Great Britain II, p. 54, and pl. 35, fig. 92. Westlake also paired these two designs; see Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, pl. LXIII d.
12. See Caviness 1990b, p. 195, and CV France, *Recensement II*, p. 41. Later zigzag designs, such as those at the cathedrals of Rouen, Salisbury, and Le Mans, replace the sideways-growing palmettes of No. 14 with sprigs of florettes rendered in profile; see Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, pls. LXXVb and LXIXb, and Raguin 1982, fig. 134, respectively. See also Marks 1996, pp. 111, 119 n. 36, and fig. 4.
13. See Nos. 15 and 16 and Caviness 1990b, pp. 100, 117, 375, and 376.
14. For the chronology of Saint-Yved, see Nos. 9 and 10 and Caviness 1990b, pp. 102 and 123–124; for the clerestory of Soissons, see Caviness 1990a, pp. 65–66, and Sandron 1998, pp. 35–36, 38, 44, and 101–2.

15 & 16. TWO SECTIONS OF A BORDER

France, attributed to Braine (Aisne), Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, or Reims (Marne), Abbey Church of Saint-Remi

c.1185–1205

Related material: United States, California, Glendale, Forest Lawn Memorial Park, (FL lots 39, 42, 47, and 57, formerly attached to panels depicting King David); Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum, Synagogue (03.SG.25).

History of the glass: These two panels were purchased in 1977 from the Parisian dealer Brimo de Laroussilhe. Information supplied by the dealer stated that he had acquired the pieces from a private collector in France, but no additional information was forthcoming. However, the attribution of these borders to the abbey churches of Saint-Remi at Reims or Saint-Yved at Braine (see **Composition** below) allows one to hypothesize how the borders eventually came on to the art market.

Madeline Caviness has exhaustively outlined the successive waves of destruction and restoration that define the post-medieval history of the stained glass of Saint-Remi and Saint-Yved.¹ Extensive renovations at Saint-Remi may have begun as early as the later 1840s and persisted throughout the nineteenth century, with particular emphasis given to copying and moving medieval

stained-glass borders.² Many borders (such as those from the Albert Maignon collection now in the Musée de Picardy, Amiens) left Saint-Remi during this period and eventually found their way to private collections.³

The medieval glass of Saint-Yved at Braine, removed in the middle of the nineteenth century, was used to patch windows at the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons that had been destroyed by gunpowder explosions in 1815.⁴ Subsequent restorations at Soissons in turn replaced much of the glass not indigenous to the cathedral, with a large percentage of such pieces appearing on the art market after the death of Édouard-Amédée Didron (1836–1902), who, together with his uncle Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806–1867), had been responsible for most of this work.⁵

Original location: The border of which these two segments are part is composed of two alternating motifs: a palmette and a circle containing a rosette, forming a combination not uncommon in the twelfth century but increasingly rare in the thirteenth.⁶ While previous discussions have noted comparisons of such ornamental details with works from northeastern France and England,⁷ Caviness has more recently proposed a firmer locus for the Cloisters border. She associates it with patterns of ornament created by a glazing workshop labeled the “rémois” atelier, which would have labored first at the Abbey Church of



15/fig. 1.
Synagogue.
France, attributed
to Reims, Abbey
Church of Saint-
Remi,
c.1185–1200.
Glencairn
Museum, The
Academy of the
New Church,
Bryn Athyn,
Pennsylvania

Saint-Remi at Reims, then at the Christ Church Cathedral at Canterbury and the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine, with some members of the atelier returning or continuing to work on the retrochoir tribune and nave clerestory at Saint-Remi.⁸ There are clear ornamental relationships between the Cloisters border pattern and those produced for all three sites. The pyramidal berry clusters and central trefoils in the palmettes find analogies in a panel depicting *Synagogue* (15/fig. 1), now at the Glencairn Museum in Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, which Caviness has attributed to Saint-Remi, as well as in a border, now at Forest Lawn Memorial Park in Glendale, California, which she links with Saint-Yved (15/fig. 2).⁹ Not enough evidence exists at this time to determine which phase of the atelier's activity was responsible for the Museum's border.



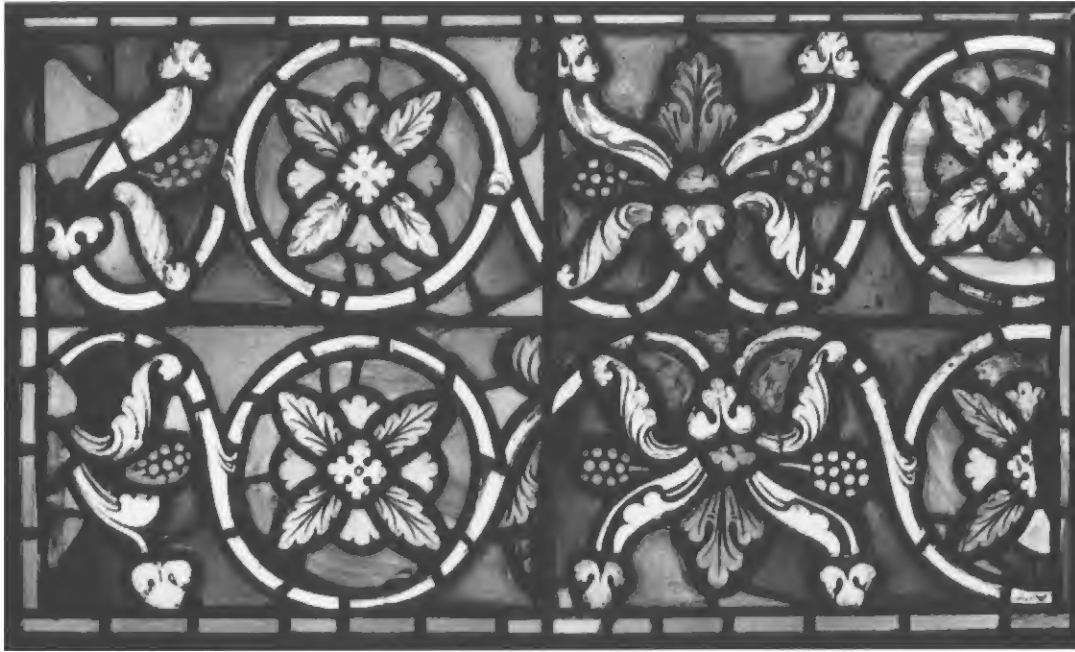
15/fig. 2. Sections from a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved, c.1185–1205. Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Glendale, California

Composition: The border's width, about 22 centimeters ($8\frac{3}{4}$ inches), suggests that, unlike the Glencairn *Synagogue* panel to which it has been related, the glass came from a large window. There is no indication from the design, however, as to whether this may have been an aisle or a clerestory window. Like many of the clerestory borders at Saint-Remi produced by Caviness's "rémois" atelier as well as the border of the Crucifixion window that she attributes to the Saint-Remi tribune, the Cloisters border follows a type of orientation that consistently places the axes of the border motifs at right angles to the edge of the window that they surround, a composition that tends to disappear during the thirteenth century. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, most window borders are not only narrower but also have motifs that run parallel to the window edge.¹⁰ The consequent conservatism of the Cloisters border also may account for a certain dryness of delineation. Similarly, the concentric orientation of this border and the straggly quality of its leafage suggests a type that has passed its prime, an assessment previously made of the Glencairn *Synagogue* panel that this glass so closely resembles.¹¹

Color and technique: Two shades of blue are used in these panels, a medium gray potassium blue for the background and a lighter shade of the same color for details in both motifs. Two greens are also employed, a light emerald for the berry clusters and a light olive for leaves in the rosettes and the bases of the palmettes. The fields of the rosettes and the edge fillets are bright, streaky, medium red.

The painting technique on both border segments is extremely simple, consisting of a trace line, often broad and ragged, that frequently washes out when used as a tone. One medium shade of mat indicates the curl or overlap of a leaf.

Date: Prior dating proposals for these border segments were based on stylistic comparisons, which included the window of St. Eustache in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, traditionally thought to have been painted between 1200 and 1210.¹² Given Caviness's assignation of the Cloisters border panels to a "rémois" atelier, a date of 1185 to 1205 (a time span based on the glazing activity at Braine and Reims) is more likely. If the Cloisters borders were associated with the figures depicting the Ancestors of Christ in the clerestory at Saint-Yved at Braine, given their compositional affinity to the Forest Lawn border, which Caviness suggests was part of the Braine clerestory, then they are most likely to date from about 1184, after the atelier had finished glazing the retrochoir at Saint-Remi.¹³ This production period at Braine could extend into the 1190s but would surely have been finished before Agnes of Braine's death in 1204.¹⁴ On the other hand, if the borders were produced for Saint-Remi they would compare favorably with those borders that Caviness finds now in



15/1. Pre-restoration condition of Nos. 15 and 16

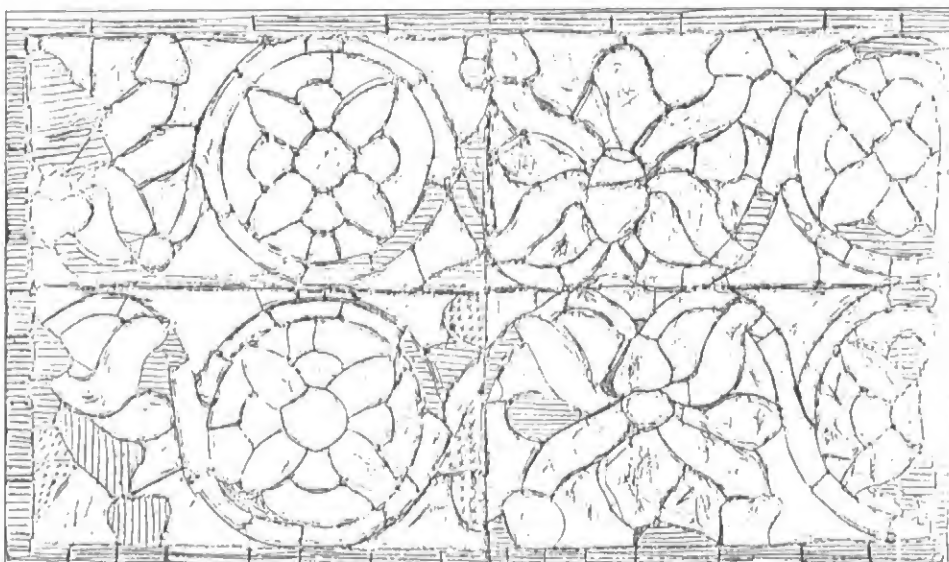
the tribune but were originally made for another location, perhaps the nave.¹⁵ This Saint-Remi campaign directed by Abbot Simon (d. 1198) postdated the work of the "rémois" atelier at Braine and may have been completed in the aisles before 1198; if the borders were made for the clerestory, however, they might be as late as 1205.¹⁶ Dating the Cloisters borders in relationship to the Glencairn *Synagogue* panel would also suggest its origin in the later phases of the Saint-Remi glazing campaign. The rather dry style evidenced in both the Glencairn design (which Caviness suggests would have been installed about 1200) and the Cloisters borders indicates a phase of atelier activity later than the work undertaken at Canterbury.¹⁷

Condition: When these border fragments were acquired by the Museum, each segment had been cut down the middle, stacked, and then joined at the center (15/1). As a result, the palmettes were grouped together on one side

and the rosettes on the other. A restoration chart made at the time of acquisition revealed what had happened (15/2). In 1978 the border segments were separated and the glass reordered to its current appearance. With the exception of the red edge fillets, only seventeen new pieces of glass were added between the two segments to replace inserts of modern glass and stop-gaps of old glass. The work was accomplished in the Greenland Studio, New York City, from 1978 to 1979.

Photographic reference: Negative 62998 shows the pre-restoration state of the borders at the time of their acquisition by the Museum, while they were still joined together. Individual negative numbers are given with each catalogue entry.

Bibliography: *MMA Annual Report* 1979, pp. 38–39, ill.; Jane Hayward in New York 1982, pp. 118–19, fig. 19; CV US,



15/2. Restoration chart of Nos. 15 and 16 made prior to conservation

Checklist I, p. 96, ill., gives basic information and bibliography; Caviness 1990b, Catalogue D, B/R?b.1, illustrates No. 16; [New York 1999, p. 70, more loosely associates the border panels with Braine and/or Reims].

15. Border with Rosettes and Palmettes

Rectangular panel: 21.9 × 61.9 cm (8 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 24 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1978 (1978.408.1)

Ill. nos. 15, 15/a, 15/1 and 2, 15/figs. 1 and 2

Description: The border pattern consists of alternating rosettes and palmettes connected by a warm white vine. In this segment two rosettes flank a central palmette. The four outer leaves of the palmette curl at oblique angles. The white, upturned leaves terminate in small golden yellow trefoil blossoms, while the white, down-turned leaves are balanced by thin, sprouting stalks that end in upturned trefoil tips. At the sides of the palmette, light emerald green seed pods or berry clusters protrude horizontally from the interstices between the curling leaves. The central part of the palmette is composed of three distinct trefoil leaves arranged vertically. The closest to the vine, pointing down, is light olive green; the center one is gray blue and forms a bud husk from which the largest trefoil emerges at top.

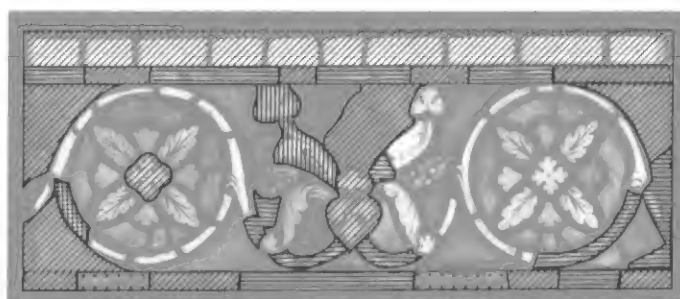
This surmounting shape, colored dark murrey and accented with painted veins, represents the central blossom of the motif.

The vine and enclosed rosette comprise the second element of the pattern. The rosette itself is made up of four light olive leaves with thin, toothed blades set on the diagonal alternating with four gray blue trefoils around a central golden yellow quatrefoil. Leaf scars are present where the vine bifurcates to form the bottom part of the rosette enclosure. Within the vine ring, the ground changes color from the dark potassium blue of the rest of the background to a streaky red.

Condition: This border segment is well preserved except for the three central trefoils of the palmette. Three pieces of blue background were added at the corners of the segment. The edge fillets are either modern or stopgaps.

Ornament: Exact duplicates of ornamental details in this border pattern are found in the Glencairn *Synagogue* panel (15/fig. 1), one such example being the quadrilobe centers of the Cloisters border rosettes, which, except for color, duplicate the vine clasps in the *Synagogue* panel and the hoop clasps in the Forest Lawn border (15/fig. 2). Similarly, the Cloisters berry clusters with their stiff, horizontal bearing find parallels in both the Glencairn and Forest Lawn pieces. In the Glencairn *Synagogue* panel, the leaf scars and unfolding brackets on the vine recall the leaf scars and stem of the palmette in the Cloisters border.

15/a. Restoration chart



15. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c. 1185–1205



Moreover, the trefoils in the center of the Cloisters palmette are not unlike those on the vine encircling *Synagogue* as well as those depicted in the Forest Lawn border.¹⁸

Photographic reference: Negative 215914 illustrates the post-restoration state of the panel.

16. Border with Rosettes and Palmettes

Rectangular panel: 21.6 × 60 cm (8½ × 23⅝ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1978 (1978.408.2)

Ill. nos. 16, 16/a

Description: The pattern of this border segment is identical to that of No. 15, with the exception that here two palmettes flank a central rosette.

Condition: The only new glass added to this border segment during the 1978–79 restoration were two small pieces of red ground on each side of the lower left leaf of the rosette as well as one blue piece on the right edge of the panel. When the two border segments were separated, two pieces of the red edge fillet were found to be the exact same red as the fields of the rosette. It was reasoned that these

pieces were original, and they were re-employed in the restored panel in the single fillet. A white break fillet was also added next to the outer edge of the other red fillet.

Ornament: Since the two palmettes in this piece of border are both largely original, it is possible to compare their central trefoil patterns to similar details in the Glencairn Synagogue panel (15/fig. 1). The lower trefoil finds its parallel in the two leaves that grow directly from the vine encircling the figure in the Glencairn panel, while the upper trefoil resembles the larger leaf in the border of Synagogue. Although the leaf veins are not present on the Glencairn example, they do appear in the Forest Lawn border (15/fig. 2). Comparable berry clusters can be seen in all three.

Photographic reference: Negative 215915 illustrates the post-restoration state of the panel.

NOTES

1. See Caviness 1990b, pp. 26–35 and 76–87, respectively.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 29–33, 358.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 79. For a concise summary of the destruction of stained glass at the Cathedral of Soissons in the nineteenth century, see also Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 9–10, and Caviness 1990b, pp. 79–80.
6. Notable twelfth-century examples include the pattern of alternating palmettes and griffins – both contained within circles – in the Infancy



16/a. Restoration chart

16. Section of a Border. France, Braine, Abbey Church of Saint-Yved or Reims, Abbey Church of Saint-Remi, c.1185–1205



window at Chartres (see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 1, pls. IV–VII, and; Grodecki 1977, p. 106, ill. 87) and the border of the Crucifixion window at the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers, composed alternately of circles containing four-petaled rosettes and ribbon-enclosed palmettes; see *ibid.*, p. 73, ill. 58.

7. Hayward in New York 1982, pp. 118–19. The closest comparative example, vis-à-vis type of ornament, is a border from Christ Church Cathedral at Canterbury that Caviness has suggested may have belonged to the Jesse Tree window originally in the Corona but now installed in the east window of the crypt; CV Great Britain II, pp. 216–17, figs. 369 and 599.
8. Caviness 1990b, pp. 98–128 and 388.
9. For the *Synagogue* panel (Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, 03.SG.25), see *ibid.*, p. 124 and Catalogue C, as well as CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 106. For the Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Glendale, border, see Caviness 1990b, p. 347, and CV US, *Checklist III*, p. 48. Although Louis Grodecki suggested an English origin for the *Synagogue* panel (see Caviness 1977b, p. 81), its collections history, like that of the Forest Lawn border, argues for a French provenance. The *Synagogue* panel came to Raymond Pitcairn (1885–1966) through Lucien Demotte from Jacques Eugène Marchand, who worked at Saint-Remi in the 1870s. The Forest Lawn glass (originally in the William Randolph Hearst collection) was at some point attached to a large figure of King David, who resembles four other seated figures, two in the Glencairn Museum and two in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, that came from Bacri Frères, Paris, and Raoul Heilbronner (d. 1941), Paris, respectively. (For the related pieces that came from Bacri, see CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 108–9; for the figures at the Walters Art Museum that came from Heilbronner, see CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 56–57.) The Forest Lawn piece also came through Demotte, who acquired it from the Parisian dealer François Haussaire, a former glass restorer from Reims. (For Haussaire, see Hayward in New York 1982, p. 39.)
10. The St. Eustache window at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, made, according to Grodecki, by the same atelier that worked in Aisne at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Laon and at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin, has a parallel orientation but is quite wide; its circular medallion is the closest analogous motif to these border sections so far discovered; see Grodecki 1965, pp. 171–94.
11. See Caviness 1977b, p. 81.
12. Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 60–61.
13. See Caviness 1990b, p. 102. For a fuller discussion of the intricate inter-relationships among these glazing programs, see n. 8 above.
14. See Caviness 1990b, p. 123.
15. See *ibid.*, Catalogue D, nos. R.b. 12–25 and 124–26.
16. See *ibid.*, p. 26. [For the most recent discussion of the Braine dating, see Prache 1994, pp. 105–7.]
17. Caviness 1990b, pp. 124–25 and 355–56.
18. For additional comparisons of the Cloisters border pattern to other borders from Saint-Remi and Saint-Yved, see *ibid.*, pp. 357–92.

17. SECTION OF A BORDER

France (Aisne), Soissons (?)

C.1200–1210

History of the glass: The panel was given to the Museum in 1926 by trustee George D. Pratt (1869–1935) of Glen Cove, New York. Following the advice of Museum curator Bashford Dean (1867–1928), Pratt purchased a group of six pieces of early French stained glass (of which this panel was one), assembled from the independent holdings of Augustin Lambert and André Lion, both of Paris.¹

Original location, style, and date: Stylistic evidence suggests an origin for this border design in the Aisne region of northeastern France surrounding Soissons; the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais itself cannot be ruled out. Stained-glass windows once installed at Soissons are among the most frequent sources for panels now in American collections.² The cathedral's glass has a long history of restorations and removals, with many examples appearing on the art market following World War I, about the same time this panel was shown to Bashford Dean.³

A border design from the Cathedral of St. Mary at Lincoln in England (17/fig. 1) offers several provocative points of comparison with the Museum's panel.⁴ Both borders show a prominent stalk flush with the inner edge of the window. Leaf spurs periodically interrupt the stalk itself, issuing symmetrically arching palmette fronds whose individual leaves curl back upon themselves at the tips. Despite these basic compositional similarities, there are several reasons to maintain a French origin for the Museum's border, with other glass bearing the strongest affinities to it found at the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons.

The slightness of the curve in the Museum's panel suggests that the border segment comes from a large window, quite possibly one similar in width to the ambulatory chapels at Soissons. The curve itself, in fact, suggests that the piece was originally located at the springing of the pointed arch at the top of the lancet. The panel's width of 12.7 centimeters (5 inches) is nearly equaled by that of the border from the Soissons window of saints Nicasius of Reims and Eutropia (14.6 centimeters [5½ inches]), now divided between the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston and the Musée du Louvre, Paris.⁵ The correspondence in width between the two would probably have been even closer had the



17/fig. 1. Border design. England, Lincoln, Cathedral of St. Mary, first third of the thirteenth century (after CV Great Britain, Occasional Paper III, fig. B [F])



17/fig. 2. King from a *Tree of Jesse*. France, Soissons, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Protais, c. 1210–25. Glencairn Museum, The Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

Metropolitan's border not lost its framing fillets. Moreover, the Nicasius and Eutropia border, like the Museum's example, is organized against a streaky red ground, with a stem, from which curling leaf fronds rise, running along the inner edge. Although the distinctive flip of the leaf tip in the Museum's example – an extremely unusual trait in French glass – is not evident in the Nicasius and Eutropia border, it is apparent in foliage from the *Tree of Jesse* window at Soissons (17/fig. 2) as well as at sites influenced by it in style, such as the Castle Chapel at Baye (Marne) near Epernay.⁶

Given the correspondences with the foliage of the *Tree of Jesse* window at Soissons and with the size and compositional structure of the cathedral's Nicasius and Eutropia window, the Museum's panel can be dated similarly to c. 1200–1210. Carl F. Barnes, Jr., dates the beginning of the Gothic chevet construction of the cathedral at Soissons to about 1197–98, while Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven suggest that the glazing program for the ambulatory chapels could have been underway as early as 1205.⁷ The consecration date of the new choir in 1212 is generally assumed to be the terminus ante quem.⁸

Bibliography: *BMMA* 1926a, p. 270; *BMMA* 1926b, p. 294, announces the gift and dates the panel to the early thirteenth-century; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 96, ill., gives basic information and bibliography (and incorrectly cites Grosvenor Thomas as the dealer from whom the panel was purchased).



17. Section of a Border. France, Soissons (?), c. 1200–1210

17/a. Restoration chart



Border with Arching Leaf Fronds

Rectangular panel: 58 × 12.7 cm (22 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 5 in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926 (26.218.4)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 17, 17/a, 17/figs. 1 and 2

Description: The simple design is composed of a greenish white stem running along the inner edge of the panel, from which spring pairs of cobalt blue leaf fronds, each of which diverges outward to create a running zigzag pattern. The fronds themselves are distinguished by acanthus-like ruffled edges and tips that roll back upon themselves. Yellow buds nestle in the centers between the leaves. The ground is a streaky red.

Condition: The panel is in excellent condition. It is evenly weathered with a crust of very fine pits on the back and some weathering on the front, particularly in the red glass. The replacement glass is limited to the edges of the panel. There are some areas of chipped paint, but these are minor. The restoration of the stalk at the top of the piece has resulted in some deformation of the panel's original curve.

Composition: This is a most peculiar piece that defies expectations for borders c.1200. While the panel is simple in its overall design, the distinctive curled tips of the tendrill-like fronds display a spurt of originality. In addition, the prominent greenish white stem and large expanses of plain red glass are unusual in such early borders, as is its extremely narrow width.

Technique: The reddish-brown trace is laid on with a loaded brush in quick and effortless sweeping strokes. Mat is applied only in limited areas in the foliage and is used to subdue the brightness of the yellow buds.

Photographic reference: The panel was photographed upon its arrival at the Museum, negative 64612.

NOTES

1. See *BMA* 1926b, p. 294. The other glass given by Pratt in this group included border fragments from Saint-Denis (Nos. 1 and 2A, B), ornamental glass from the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi at Reims (No. 6), and two Beauvaisis prophets (Nos. 22 and 23). Soon after its acquisition, this section of a border was mistakenly associated with the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, undoubtedly an error suggested by the presence of two border fragments from Saint-Denis in the same Pratt gift.
2. The survey of medieval stained glass in collections in the United States made by the American Committee of the Corpus Vitrearum established approximately forty-two panels that can be associated with Soissons, including panels from Saint-Yved at Braine that were installed at Soissons Cathedral before 1820. See *CV US, Checklist I*, pp. 64, 96, and 97; *CV US, Checklist II*, pp. 28–29, 56–57, 75, 108–9, 111–14, 148, and 180; and *CV US Checklist III*, p. 156. [To this list can be added No. 14, purchased by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1992.]
3. Raymond Pitcairn, for example, bought six panels from Bacri Frères, Paris, in 1922. The other Parisian dealer with a large quantity of stained glass taken from Soissons Cathedral was Raoul Heilbronner,

whose inventory was sold in a series of public auctions between 1921 and 1925. [See Pastan and Shepard 1997, p. 30 n. 35.]

4. See *CV Great Britain, Occasional Paper III*, fig. B(F), and Westlake 1881–94, vol. 1, p. 115, pl. LXVIIa.
5. See *CV US, Checklist I*, p. 40, and Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, figs. 1, 3, and 4.
6. For the *Tree of Jesse* windows from the Cathedral of Soissons and the Castle Chapel at Baye, see Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 38, 44, 242–43, 261, and figs. 25 and 32. [Also see border segments Nos. 15 and 16, associated with the Abbey Church of Saint-Yved at Braine or the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi at Reims.]
7. For the construction and dating of the chevet, see Barnes 1969, p. 9; Caviness, Pastan, and Beaven 1984, pp. 17–18; and [Sandron 1998, p. 88].
8. This date is commemorated by an ancient inscription on a stone in the choir.

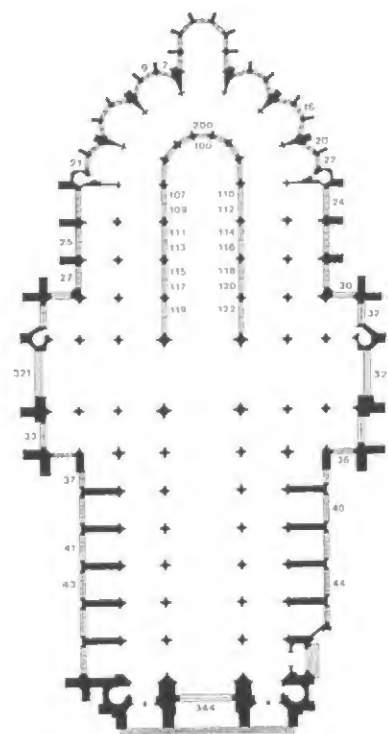
18. SECTION OF A BORDER

France, Picardy, Amiens (?)

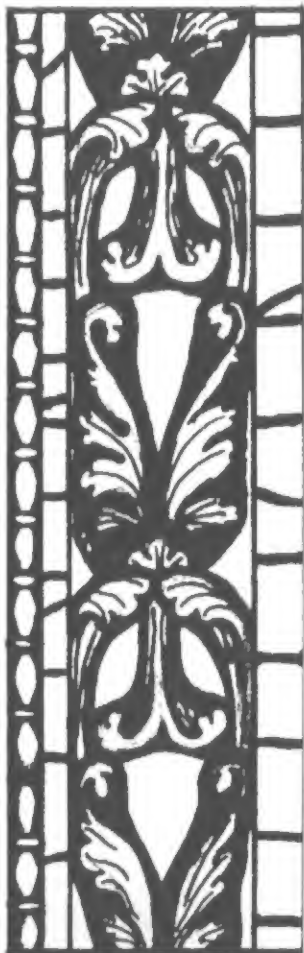
c.1230–40

History of the glass: Little is known about this panel prior to its purchase by the Museum in 1982 from the Swiss dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler of Zurich. Mrs. Kummer acquired the glass in the 1960s from the late Parisian illustrator Paul Jouve (b. 1880), who owned a half dozen pieces of medieval glass that he had obtained from various sources. Although no direct evidence relates the panel to any known monument, there are circumstantial grounds for associating it with northern France in general and with Picardy and Amiens in particular.

Original location, style, and date: Stylistic affinities with border designs associated with the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Amiens (18/fig. 1), as well as the history of the nineteenth-century restoration and displacement of stained glass at the cathedral, suggest that the Museum's border section comes from Picardy, if not from the cathedral itself. Among the stained-glass fragments now in storage at the *Dépôt des Monuments Historiques* at Champs-sur-Marne, there exists a border (framing scenes contained in barbed quatrefoils on mosaic



18/fig. 1. Floor plan, Amiens, Cathedral of Notre-Dame (after *CV France, Recensement I*, p. 219)



18/fig. 2. Drawing of a border design after a panel now at the Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, Champs-sur-Marne (drawing: author)

grounds) that duplicates other border panels still in situ at Amiens Cathedral, in the first bay east of the transept on the north side of the choir (bay 27), which the later twentieth-century restorer, Jean-Jacques Gruber (1904–1988), believed to have come from the cathedral's nave (18/fig. 2).¹ Both the Museum's border panel and the Amiens-related border fragments now at Champs fit Nathaniel Westlake's definition of a "block" border type, a distinctive feature of which is the manner in which the foliage pattern is interrupted by a centrally placed leaf that grows upside down.² Furthermore, in this pattern the foliage issues alternately from a central and a lateral point.³ The Museum's border is distinguished by the eccentric motif of leaves emanating from other leaves rather than originating from a clasp or stem, or even being self-contained; this singular compositional choice is otherwise unknown in border designs of the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries.⁴

The leaf-from-leaf device, however, became more common as the wider borders of the twelfth-century gave way to increasingly thinner borders by the second quarter of the thirteenth century, during experimental stages of window design in Rayonnant architecture. These tall, multiple-light windows left only a restricted area for borders, which subsequently developed into the narrow format typical of mid-thirteenth-century productions.⁵ Indeed, the closest comparison with the Museum's border is the pattern associated with Amiens Cathedral now at Champs. In that example, as in the Museum's panel, the foliage alternately issues from a point either at center or at the lateral edges of the field, with a corresponding change of color in the field from red to blue depending on whether the ground is inside or outside the foliate pattern. With the exception of the reversed direction of the leaf spray placed between the two lateral leaves in the Champs border (in the Museum's panel the spray conforms to the direction of the design), all the elements in the two borders are similar. The distinctive manner in which the tips of the leaves curve back upon

themselves in the Cloisters border is also observable in the border design now at Champs.⁶

In addition to stylistic evidence, the history of the nineteenth-century restorations at Amiens Cathedral may help point to an Amienois provenance for the Museum's panel. In the course of the campaign to refurbish the three central radiating chapels of the choir begun by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) in 1854, the Parisian glass painter Alfred Gérente (1821–1868) designed new glass in the thirteenth-century style for a window in the north ambulatory.⁷ Gérente's glass depicted the apocryphal history of St. Theodosie, a local saint whose relics had recently been discovered in Rome and had been given to the cathedral at the urging of the bishop of Amiens.⁸ The chapel, formerly dedicated to the English St. Augustine, was re-dedicated to St. Theodosie in the presence of Napoleon III and the empress Eugénie in 1854. To frame this history, Gérente designed a border that virtually repeated the composition of the Museum's border.⁹ In 1921 the glass from the choir chapels was again dismantled in the course of a restoration, in the atelier of the Parisian glass painter Edmond Socard (active 1904–1920); a fire in his workshop destroyed a considerable number of panels and damaged many others, including the legend of St. Theodosie, necessitating a general rearrangement of the glass.¹⁰ Gérente's border, now surrounding the weavers donor panels (18/fig. 3), and the remains of the St. Theodosie legend are currently located in bays 0, 1, and 2 of the axial chapel.

There is no proof that Gérente or Viollet-le-Duc, who supervised the restoration, used for the design of the new border an example or fragment of old glass either found in storage at the cathedral or among the old glass already in Gérente's shop. During his restoration of the choir windows at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, Gérente is



18/fig. 3. Panels showing weavers. France, Amiens, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, mid-thirteenth century

known to have utilized twelfth-century border fragments from storage at the abbey to create new borders and even to have taken twelfth-century borders to his shop, allowing some of them to pass into the art market.¹¹ By whatever means Gérente came upon his source of design for the new Amiens border, there is no question that this source was the same as that which inspired the Museum's panel. Based on Gérente's previous practice at Saint-Denis, there is certainly reason to believe that fragments identical to the Museum's border fragments came from Amiens Cathedral. It is even possible that the Museum's panel has survived because of the intervention of Gérente.

The stylistic rapport of the Museum's panel with the Amiens nave border now at Champs, coupled with the nineteenth-century history of the cathedral glass, thus helps to identify the Museum's border as another example originating in the Amiens nave. Tradition holds that the nave of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Amiens was begun in 1220 and finished by 1236 or even earlier.¹² If glazing kept pace with the construction, the nave aisle windows may be dated to c.1230–40, a date commensurate with the style of this border and the other comparative pieces. These windows did not survive for long, however; within the same century their architectural fittings were demolished, as changing devotional needs spurred the creation of collateral chapels between the buttresses of the nave.¹³ The construction of these chapels, according to historian Georges Durand, began in 1292 at the eastern end of the structure and continued well into the later fourteenth century.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the nave windows were not wholly re-adapted to the new openings, and the remains of the Amiens nave glass can now be found leaded into the first bay east of the transept on the north side (bay 27), as well as in storage at Champs.¹⁵

Bibliography: *MMA Annual Report* 1983, p. 41, mentions the border as possibly coming from Amiens; *CV US Checklist I*, p. 97, publishes basic information and bibliography; [New York 1999, p. 102, calls the border Picard and dates it c.1230].

Border with "Block" Foliate Pattern

Rectangular panel: 35 × 14 cm (13½ × 5½ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.356)

Ill. nos. 18, 18/a, 18/figs. 1–3

Description: Delineated throughout by a reddish brown trace, this repeating pattern consists of a pale yellow trefoil leaf from which issue two violet pink leaves, accompanied at their base by two red curled leaves, and a pale green wedge with a trefoil painted in reserve between the two sets of leaves. The green wedge, continuing the central axis



18. Section of a Border. France, Amiens (?), c.1230–40

of the design, sprouts a blue stalk. Issuing from the tips of the violet pink leaves at the sides of the border are sprays of white leaves that turn inward to meet the tip of the blue stalk. In the violet pink and white sprays of leaves, the uppermost petal grows outward and back upon itself, terminating in a trilobe bud. The enclosed field formed by



18/a. Restoration chart

the leaves is red, while the ground outside the leaves is a grayish cobalt blue. The lateral fillets are red.

Condition: Although weathered and heavily pitted, the panel is in surprisingly good condition. There are a few replacement pieces, some of which may prove to be original. There is some paint loss and corrosion throughout the front of the panel. In addition, the glass has an even film of corrosion on the back, with deep pitting on the red and violet pink glass. Remarkably, much of the leading appears to be original, although new soldering joints and repair leads are clearly visible.

Composition: The vertical emphasis of this panel's design as well as its reduction of width typifies border composition in the second quarter of the thirteenth century; indeed, in both "running" and "block" border types created between c.1230 and 1245, verticality and narrowness are standard.¹⁶ The Museum's border is unusual, however, in the manner in which the bicolor background is partitioned. While such backgrounds can be found in other examples from this period, in almost all cases the area of demarcation is usually provided by strapwork or, at the very least, a vine stem acting as a strap. The border now at Champs and associated with Amiens also provides a rare example in which the foliage itself separates the colors of the field. Like the Museum's panel, the Champs border displays red glass within the area enclosed by the foliage, whereas the glass outside is blue. In addition to the leaf-issuing-from-leaf motif of the foliate design, this division of color not only highlights the originality of these two borders but also suggests a common origin.

Color: The secondary colors in this panel are unusual, especially the violet cast of the pink glass, which has an exceptional brilliance. A pale tannish lemon shade distinguishes the yellow glass, and the light green glass of the interstitial wedges is unusually clear.

Photographic reference: The panel was photographed in 1982, negative 229427.

NOTES

1. In 1975 Gruber, who was in charge of the restoration at Amiens, indicated to me, while examining some of the debris at Champs, that much of the glass now in bay 27, specifically, as well as panels in storage, must have come from the cathedral nave. Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 112, also suggests that the style of some of the remains at Amiens may have come from the nave.
2. The terms "block" and "running" for border types were coined by N. H. J. Westlake in his stained-glass treatise; Westlake 1881-94, vol. 1, p. 101. The examples (vol. 1, p. 103, pl. LVIII c and d, are unidentified in the publication but are, in fact, drawings of borders from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges and the Cathedral of St. Mary at Lincoln (England).
3. Another well-known example of this central-to-lateral alternation can be seen in a border of c.1240, attached but not belonging to a twelfth-century *Life of St. Nicholas* panel that probably originated from the now-destroyed collegiate church of Saint-Étienne at Troyes; see Pastan 1989, pp. 344-45 and fig. 1. In that border the eccentric focus is reinforced by the directional alternation of the lateral leaves. Elizabeth Pastan has suggested the Saint-Étienne provenance for the St. Nicholas panels, and this opinion has been supported in the latest survey of stained glass from the Troyes area; see *ibid.*, pp. 338-72, CV France, *Recensement IV*, pp. 239-41, and No. 4 in this publication. Sections of the Troyes border are led to the sides of the three remaining scenes from the St. Nicholas window now divided between the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris (reproduced in color in Grodecki 1977, pp. 144-45). The panels were exhibited together in New York in 1970 in the exhibition "The Year 1200" (see New York 1970, vol. 1, pp. 199-201, no. 205).
4. The development of border design in stained glass has only recently been thoroughly studied by Alain Matthey de l'Étang, to whom I am grateful for suggesting comparisons between the Museum's border and the border associated with Saint-Étienne at Troyes; [see Matthey de l'Étang 1989, vol. 2, pp. 561-73].
5. By the middle of the thirteenth century, the leaf-from-leaf motif had appeared in some examples of narrow borders at the cathedrals of Saint-Étienne at Bourges, of Saint-Julien at Le Mans, and of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre; see Martin and Cahier 1841-44, vol. 2, pl. XXXII; *Mosaïques et Bordures* L(8); and *Grisailles* G(8). The Bourges nave grisaille windows, of which one is a leaf-from-leaf design, are dated c.1260; see Lillich 1973, p. 72. The so-called Évron window at Le Mans, one lancet of which has a leaf-from-leaf border, is generally dated c.1225; see Brisac in Mussat et al. 1981, pp. 115-18. The choir clerestory window at Auxerre that shares this border type is dated toward the end of the glazing program, c.1233-45; see Raguin 1974, p. 36.
6. This type of foliage is also common to a few borders from northeastern France of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, as noticed at the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons and at the Castle Chapel at Baye (Marne) near Épernay (see No. 17). While the Amiens and Soissons borders share the unusual leaf terminus that curves back on itself, a difference should be noted. In the Soissons example, the tip remains part of the leaf design, whereas at Amiens the turned-over tip becomes a small blossom.
7. This is in the third radiating chapel on the north side, next to the axial chapel. It was originally dedicated to St. Augustine of Canterbury, and glass depicting this saint's legend was, when the historian Georges Durand described it in 1903, in both lancets of the central bay 9; see Durand 1901-1903, vol. 2, pp. 559-61. What is left of this glass is now in the terminal bay of the north transept.
8. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 187, and vol. 2, pp. 557-59, describes the window in detail and gives the historical circumstances governing the re-dedication of the chapel. Gérente, a very able glass painter, was particularly careful in copying thirteenth-century style for this window, as may be seen in two of his cartoons (07.dr.536-537) now in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania.

9. The only difference in the two is the central blue stalk, which in the Cloisters panel is so corroded that it is difficult to read. Gérente's copy may, in fact, reproduce the original design.
10. See Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 112.
11. CV France, *Études* I, pp. 52–56.
12. [Most recently, Stephen Murray has assessed the historiography of the dating of the Amiens nave; Murray 1996, pp. 48–49. He has suggested that by 1227 the south nave aisle and the western aisle of the south transept were raised to the level of the vaults and that by 1232 the north nave aisle and the western aisle of the north transept were similarly raised; *ibid.*, pp. 147–48.] In his seminal monograph, Durand dated the nave to 1220–36; Durand 1901–1903, vol. 1, pp. 15–39.
13. For the similar situation at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Rouen, see No. 11. See also Perrot 1972, pp. 11–13, as well as Cothren 1986d [and Cothren 1998, p. 158].
14. Durand 1901–1903, vol. 1, p. 41 and n. 1, gives 1292 as a starting date, as opposed to the later date of 1303 agreed upon by earlier writers.
15. The situation was virtually the same when Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) visited the cathedral in 1864; see Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6094–6095, where on fol. 182 he states that the nave windows do not exist anymore. On fol. 230v, however, he describes, in the middle radiating chapel on the north side of the ambulatory, a large window composed of three lancets containing glass from other windows, including a history of Adam, portions of a Jesse Tree, and some bands of inscriptions. This same window, when described by Durand in 1903, contained virtually the same panels, which Durand identified as debris from thirteenth-century windows; Durand 1901–1903, vol. 2, pp. 552–53.
16. See n. 5 above.

19 & 20. TWO ORNAMENTAL ROUNDELS France

c. 1235–40

History of the glass: The history of these two roundels prior to their presence in the collection of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid (née Elizabeth Mills, 1858–1931) remains obscure.¹ Mrs. Reid had the glass at the family residence, Ophir Hall,

in Purchase, New York, from which they were sold at auction in May 1935.² At that time the panels were bought by P. W. French and Co. of New York (19/1), who sold them two months later to the Metropolitan Museum for installation at The Cloisters, then under construction. The glass, together with two other roundels (acc. nos. 35.82.3 and 35.82.4) also from Mrs. Reid's collection, was designated to fill the rosettes above the four lateral bays in the



19/1. Ornamental roundels sold from Ophir Hall to P. W. French and Co. in 1935

Gothic Chapel at The Cloisters; No. 19 continues in its original location.

Original location, style, and date: The size of these panels, more than 54 centimeters (21 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches) in diameter, precludes their use as ornamental bosses in a legendary window where such medallions would have been relatively small in size. On the other hand, their size would allow them to fit adequately into the compartments of a rose window; however, roundels of such size in roses were usually reserved for figural subjects. Ornamental windows were not uncommon in the later years of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth, and these windows often contained circular motifs.³ In most cases windows representing these motifs were considerably smaller than the Cloisters roundels, and the pattern designs of comparably reduced scale. The simplicity and boldness of the two Cloisters roundels suggest that they were meant to be viewed at some distance.

Traceried windows became popular from the beginning of the thirteenth century when independent roses frequently floated above twin lancets, as seen in clerestory examples at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres. With the development of bar tracery, the doublet and rose design became ubiquitous. Most of these small roses, or rosettes, had centralized circular irons that could easily have accommodated ornamental roundels similar to this pair; if so, the surrounding lobes may have repeated in part, or complemented, the ornament of the center, as in the choir of the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges.⁴ The use of an oculus rather a rosette above double lancets is less common but not unknown, as, for example, at Bourges Cathedral, at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris, and at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre. Although these surmounting rosettes or oculi were most commonly glazed with figural subjects, it was not unusual for those in less important parts of the building to be filled with ornament, as seen at Bourges and at Auxerre.

The palmette and gadroon motifs in these medallions, concentrically arranged within the panels, have a markedly classical character that is different from the standard palmette form typical of ornament seen in borders of the first quarter of the thirteenth century. Ornament similar in character – with palmettes and gadrooned edging comparable to these roundels – was found at the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons in lost windows that were recorded by Martin and Cahier and dated by Jean Ancien to between 1220 and 1260.⁵ Failing other evidence, we should look for an original context for these medallions that, like Soissons, embraced classicizing ornamental and figural styles.

Technique: The painting of these two medallions was accomplished with trace line alone; there is no shading wash. Though there has been considerable overpainting,

enough original trace survives to conclude that it was applied with assuredness and technical skill.

Photographic reference: Negative 19400, P. W. French and Co. Photograph Archive, the Getty Research Institute, Research Library, Los Angeles, California, documents the panels when they were offered to the Museum for purchase, and is the property of the Getty Research Institute (76.P.34). Individual negative numbers are given with each catalogue entry.

Bibliography: Reid Sale 1935, lot 1451, called French, fourteenth century; *BMA* 1935, p. 151, notes purchase of the panels by the Museum; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 98, ill., gives basic information and bibliography.

Roundel with an Ornamental Quatrefoil

Circular panel: Diameter 54.4 cm (21 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1935 (35.82.1)
Ill. nos. 19, 19/a, 19/1

Description: On a deep garnet red field, a central small white quatrefoil is surrounded by four teardrop-shaped leaves of light blue glass; the central shape is in turn echoed by a large quadrilobe of warm white glass composed of three-lobed palmettes whose veins are articulated by relatively thick lines of trace paint. Each palmette's central lobe is flanked by a pair of circular seed pods. This large quatrefoil is circumscribed by a ring of light blue fillets edged with a white gadrooned border. The entire pattern of the roundel is framed by golden yellow fillets.

Condition: Paint loss on one of the white lobes has virtually obliterated the design on half of the palmette. The red glass is heavily pitted on the exterior; the other colors less so, and the white glass shows very little deterioration. The older leading exhibits a high square profile and is considerably oxidized on the exterior. There is substantial overpainting on the white glass.

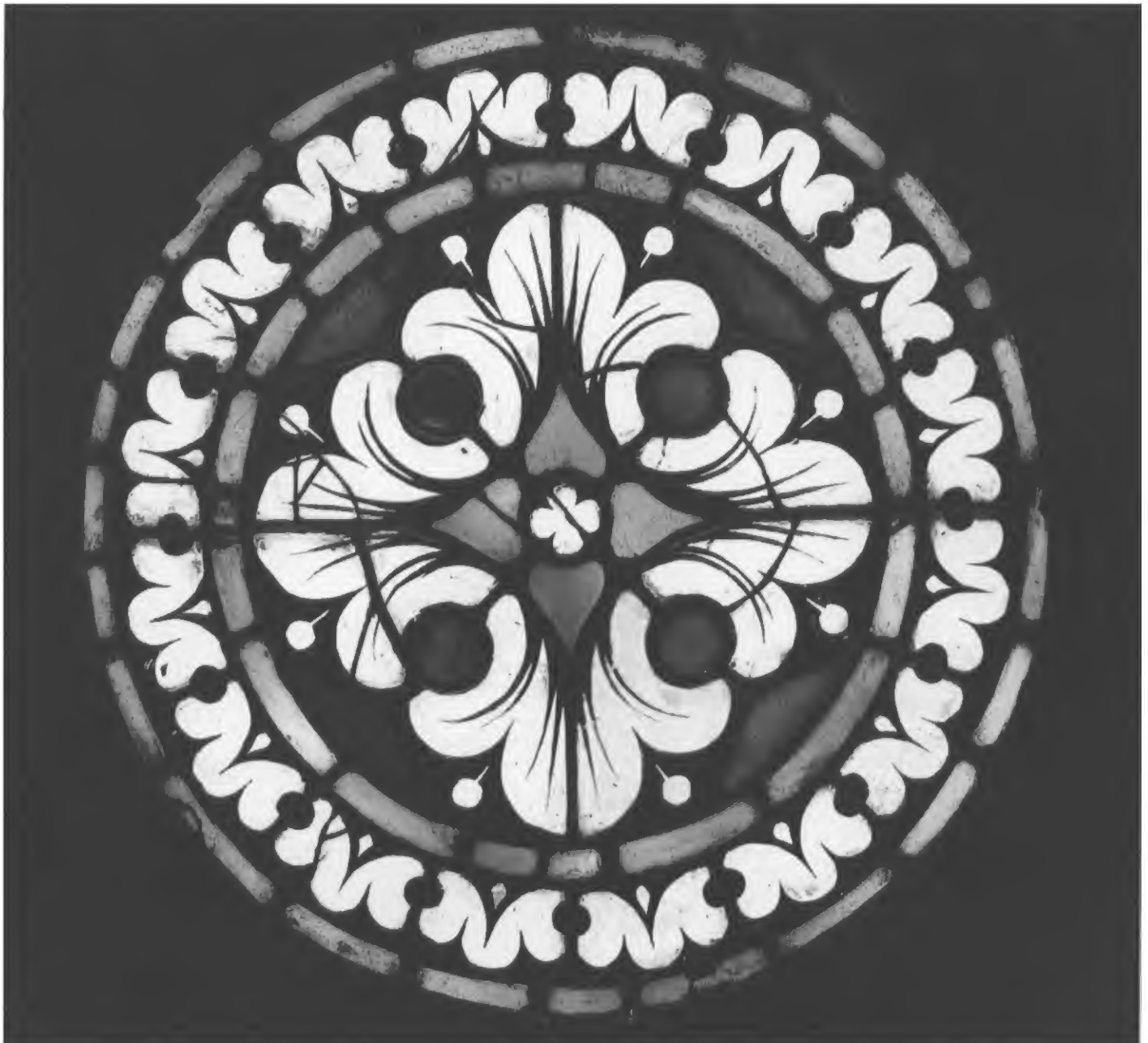
Photographic reference: Negative 100652; in 1991 No. 19 was photographed in situ in the Early Gothic Hall at The Cloisters, negative 253361.



19. Ornamental Roundel. France, c.1235-40



19/a. Restoration chart



20. Ornamental Roundel. France, c.1235-40

Roundel with an Ornamental Quatrefoil

Circular panel: Diameter 54.4 cm (21 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

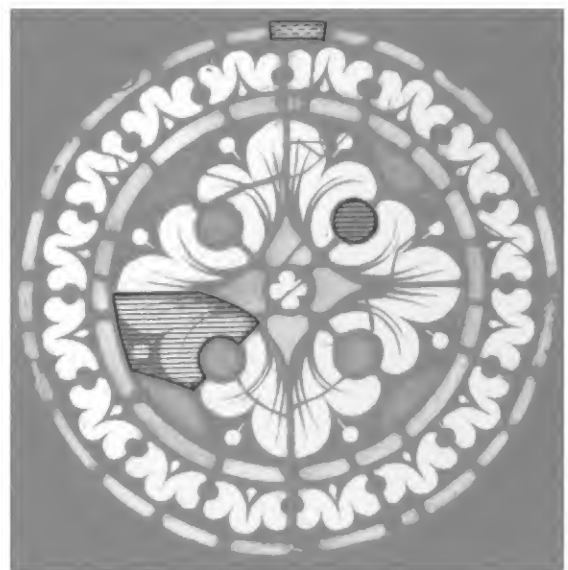
Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1935 (35.82.2)

Ill. nos. 20, 20/a

Description: The panel is identical to No. 19.

Condition: There is considerable repainting on the surface of the glass. One of the half-quatrefoil petals is a restoration created by repainting the reverse side of another lobe from this series. The original painted side (now the back) of the reused piece was cleaned with acid to remove the design, but some of the previous paint is still visible. The new reverse side was then repainted to reinforce the freshly painted front pattern.

Photographic reference: Negative 100653.



20/a. Restoration chart

NOTES

The editors gratefully acknowledge the contribution of Robert Vosburgh, whose painstaking research in the Reid Family Archives helped to clarify Mrs. Reid's participation in the completion of Ophir Hall.

1. Soon after the death, in 1912, of her husband, the well-known American journalist, publisher, and diplomat (as well as Museum trustee) Whitelaw Reid (b. 1837), Mrs. Reid oversaw the completion of the construction and renovations to the family home, Ophir Hall, in Purchase, New York. Mr. Reid had begun the project in 1905 and continued to supervise the ongoing work while serving as the United States ambassador to the Court of St. James (Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Reid Family Papers, MM 80037531, microfilm roll nos. 93–96). The Reids had hired the firm of McKim, Mead, and White as architects and contractors for the building (see, for example, Reid Family Papers, Business Correspondence, 6 May 1912). The Cloisters medallions were installed in the new library along with approximately fifty-nine other panels of old glass. (Ophir Hall is now the administrative offices of Manhattanville College, but the windows of the former library still contain armatures comparable in shape to those of the Cloisters medallions.) This accounted for only a small portion of Mrs. Reid's stained-glass collection, as ornamental glass was leaded into the windows throughout the house. Mrs. Reid purchased a large number of stained-glass panels from the London-based collector and dealer Grosvenor Thomas (1856–1923), many of which were exhibited by Thomas at the Charles Gallery in New York in 1913 (see Drake 1913, nos. 10, 1d, 150a, 152–55, 182, 221[?], 245a, and 255–61. [This list was compiled by Marilyn M. Beaven in 1988.]) Mrs. Reid's ledger book records payments to Thomas from 15 March 1913 to 20 July 1914 (Reid Family Papers, Miscellany Series II, Box 12). Unfortunately, the Cloisters medallions are not itemized in the Thomas Stockbooks, Drake 1913, or Mrs. Reid's ledger book. However, Mrs. Reid appears to have purchased stained glass from Thomas not recorded elsewhere, as documented by the glaziers, Heinigke and Smith of New York, who installed the glass in the Ophir Hall library (see Reid Family Papers, Miscellany II, Box 9).

Although McKim, Mead, and White were known to have supplied for their clients decorative objects of all kinds, including stained glass, and continued to use the trove of purchases made by Stanford White on his European travels in their buildings after White's death in 1906, there is no documentation among the Reid Family Papers to indicate that Mrs. Reid worked through the firm to acquire the glass. In fact, McKim, Mead, and White was in the process of terminating its involvement with Ophir Hall contemporaneously with Mrs. Reid's large purchase of stained glass from Grosvenor Thomas (Reid Family Papers, Box B35, File No. 1262). Madeline H. Caviness presented a review of Stanford White's use of stained glass, "A Classicist Unmasked: Stanford White's Use of Late Gothic Stained Glass," at the Twenty-Fourth International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1989, discussed in CV US, Checklist III, pp. 14–15, and [Caviness 1994, pp. 978–79].

When Jean-Jacques Gruber (1904–1988) – distinguished master glazier, restorer, and historian of stained glass – visited The Cloisters, he suggested for these medallions a provenance of the Cathedral of Saint-Jean at Lyons. Their size and scale of decoration would in fact be compatible with placement in the lateral lobes of the tracery lights of the choir clerestory; see Bégule 1880, pp. 142–43 and 150, ill. The Cloisters roundels could have been eliminated during a thorough restoration of this glass in 1842, work that involved the Parisian glass painter Alfred Gérénte (1821–1868), who was known to have extracted panels of stained glass from medieval churches to enrich his own collection; see Grodecki in CV France, *Études* I, pp. 52–56, and Raguin 1990, p. 316. Two panels from Lyons in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (CV US, Checklist II, pp. 116 and 122), confirm that glass from this site circulated in the art market during the twentieth century. Only further research, however, will determine where the Cloisters medallions came from, including the possible provenance of Lyons.

2. See Reid Sale 1935, lot 1451.
3. The most extensive publication of ornamental windows is still Martin and Cahier 1841–44. Mosaïques F, G, and H and Grisailles E, where examples from the Abbey Church of Saint-Remi at Reims, the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Strasbourg, the former Collegiate Church of St. Martin at Colmar, and the former Parish Church of Our Lady (now the cathedral) at Freiburg im Breisgau are shown, many of which are no longer in situ.
4. Ibid., vol. 2, pls. XXIV, XXIX, and XXX.
5. Ibid., Mosaïques F(4) and (8), and Ancien 1980, vol. 1, p. 42.

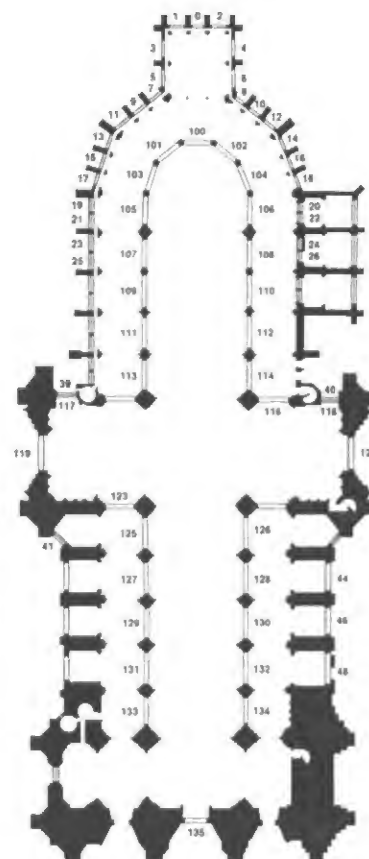
21. GRISAILLE PANEL

France (Yonne), Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, axial Chapel of the Virgin

c. 1240

Related material: France (Yonne), Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, axial Chapel of the Virgin, grisaille glass in bay 3.

History of the glass: Although the known history of this grisaille glass is brief, a much longer past can be surmised, reaching back to the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre and the glazing of its axial chapel consecrated to the Virgin (21/fig. 1). The panel came from the atelier of Michel Acézat (1878–1944), a Parisian glazier and connoisseur whose collection, which had remained in his daughter's possession after his death, was sold in 1969.¹ Bought at the Acézat sale by a Parisian dealer, Michel



21/fig. 1. Floor plan, Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne (after CV France, *Recensement* III, p. 113)

Meyer, as part of a lot, the piece was later sold to the Zurich dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler and, ultimately, purchased by the Museum in 1982.²

Acézat had acquired his collection of stained glass (which at his atelier sale comprised over 143 lots of panels as well as hundreds of individual fragments) over nearly half a century. While much of the glass sold in 1969 consisted of “leftovers” from the numerous restoration campaigns in which Acézat had taken part, some of the pieces had been purchased by Acézat from fellow glass painter-collectors. The latter source for the Museum’s panel is suggested by the number “35/9,” painted in white on the front of the glass; similar markings are present on the Museum’s grisaille panels from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges (Nos. 41–46), as well as on a related work (No. 47). Such notations may well indicate an inventory number from the estate sale of Charles Leprévost (d.1903), one of the foremost glaziers of the second half of the nineteenth century. The quality of Leprévost’s collection was noted by the eminent French glass painter and scholar Lucien Magne (1849–1916).³ It was not unusual in the nineteenth century for glass removed from a site to be retained by the glazier-restorer either to be used again as a stopgap or kept as a collector’s item; Leprévost’s practice was no exception.⁴

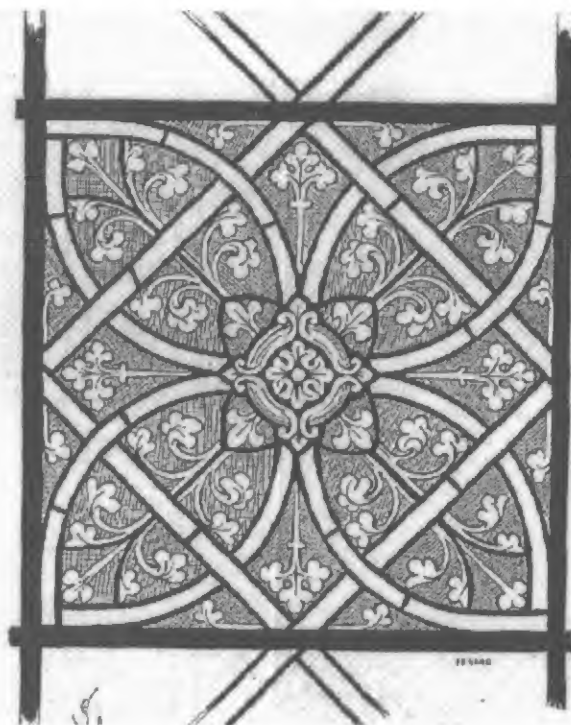
Leprévost often worked as a glass painter for Louis Steinheil (1814–1885), who, in turn, was employed as a glass designer-restorer for Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879).⁵ In 1879 this team of Steinheil and Leprévost were awarded the contract for re-glazing the axial chapel at the Cathedral of Auxerre.⁶ Steinheil had been engaged by Viollet-le-Duc since 1866 as designer for all of the glass at Auxerre, in the course of which he worked with local glaziers.⁷ During the Franco-Prussian War, the bombardment of 1870 did particular damage to the windows of the cathedral’s axial Lady Chapel, the repair of which required a master craftsman, prompting Steinheil to hire Leprévost.⁸

When Leprévost began work on the glazing in the axial chapel, the glass had already been altered from its original medieval appearance. In 1567 the Huguenots smashed the lower portions of the ambulatory and chapel windows that were within easy reach from the parapet passage below.⁹ The eastern windows at the flat end of the axial chapel suffered the greatest harm. Starting in 1572, an extended restoration ensued under the direction of a local glass painter named Pigal. Medieval glass was repaired, and – in the case of the axial chapel – new windows were made.¹⁰ Very little else appears to have been done before Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier recorded one of the Lady Chapel side windows before 1841.¹¹ Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) visited the cathedral from 1834 through 1864 and wrote descriptions of the windows, characterizing the grisaille window from which the

Museum’s panel came as “Belle grisaille, XIIIe siècle, à losanges et rosaces.”¹²

Such was the disposition of the axial chapel – including the damage sustained during the bombardments of 1870 – when Leprévost started work. He removed the broken Renaissance windows that had been glazed into the three eastern lights of the chapel. For this location, Leprévost created a new *Life of the Virgin* window to be installed in the central light (bay 0) and flanked it with remnants of a thirteenth-century *Tree of Jesse* (bay 1) and a *Legend of Theophilus* (bay 2) that he completed with new panels designed by Steinheil.¹³ Leprévost was second only to the Géroente brothers – Henri (1814–1849) and Alfred (1821–1868) – in his ability to copy medieval style, especially grisaille.¹⁴ Nonetheless, work on the repeated designs for the grisaille windows in the north and south walls of the cathedral’s axial chapel appears to have been given to assistants, while Leprévost himself concentrated on the figural scenes destined for the east end.

His assistants evidently did not use the precisely drawn model of this grisaille pattern that was first published by Viollet-le-Duc in 1868 (21/fig. 2).¹⁵ Their work is crude by comparison and reproduces only the main outlines of the design; subtleties, such as the exquisite center of the drawing evident in the Museum’s panel as well as in original panels remaining at Auxerre, are omitted. Restoration efforts included not only the creation of new panels to replace those that were missing or badly damaged, but also the repair of surviving medieval grisailles either by extensive repainting of existing glass or by the addition of stopgaps. The severely deteriorated pre-restoration condi-



21/fig. 2. Grisaille design, Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, axial Chapel of the Virgin (from Viollet-le-Duc 1875, vol. 9, fig. 40)

tion of the paint can be observed throughout the windows at Auxerre in areas where repainting was not done, as in the centers of the pattern where the original design shows as a palimpsest, also seen on the Museum's panel. These similarities in the repainting evident both at Auxerre and on the Museum's panel (which reproduce the same design) indicate that the glass passed through the same restoration campaign and, thus, serve as key factors in the reconstruction of the history of the Museum's grisaille.

The reason why the Museum's panel was removed from the program is unknown. It is possible that it was used as a prototype for replacement glass intended for bay 3 in the axial chapel. Accordingly, it could have been taken from one of the windows and transported to the Leprévost atelier in Paris, where multiple copies would have been made to fill out the damaged parts of the windows; subsequently either by mistake or by intention, it was not reinstalled. If this were the case, it would not have been the first time medieval glass was left in a glazier's shop.¹⁶

Original location: This panel can be ascribed to the axial chapel of the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre, the most compelling argument for which is the presence of identical grisaille patterns remaining in situ at the cathedral (21/fig. 3). The beautiful engraving of the design published by Viollet-le-Duc in his *Dictionnaire* and identified by him as originating in the Auxerre Cathedral Lady Chapel, together with the circumstantial evidence that the panel was removed during Leprévost's restorations, combine to bolster such a provenance.¹⁷ The axial Lady Chapel itself is unusual on two accounts. Most likely constructed toward the end of the building campaign of the choir (1215–34), the chapel was designed as a single square terminus at the cathedral's east end, and its windows were filled with an innovative combination of colored and grisaille glass.¹⁸ The glazing of its two eastern-most side windows, bays 3 and 4, was probably executed completely in grisaille, while bays 5 and 6, to the west, contained combinations of large, clerestory-size figures surrounded by grisaille. Records do not survive regarding the three eastern windows, but Lafond believed assuredly that they were colored.¹⁹ The effect of this grisaille and colored glass arranged as an integral ensemble was striking; indeed, it was forward looking. Such combinations, including conventual spaces at Saint-Jean-aux-Bois (c.1230) and the Lady Chapel at Saint-Germain-des-Prés (begun in 1245), were rare before the mid-thirteenth century.²⁰ Undoubtedly the grisaille and colored-glass glazing program in the axial chapel at Auxerre was part of this extraordinary milieu, anticipating the exquisite harmony of grisaille and color at Saint-Urbain in Troyes (c.1270–90).²¹

Composition and date: The self-contained, centripetal composition of this panel as well as its monochromatic design have been cited by Meredith Lillich in comparison to choir



21/fig. 3. Grisaille panels in situ. Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, axial Chapel of the Virgin, c.1240

grisaille at the former Abbey Church of Saint-Père at Chartres, and she has characterized these qualities as widespread about the middle of the thirteenth century.²² These two examples have similar characteristics, including the manner in which the palmette foliage is drawn. Each of the fleshy leaves appears to curve over at the tip, the turn defined by an edge line and veining. Despite these correspondences, the Saint-Père grisailles contain color and, even more significantly, have a single lead outlining the strap rather than the two defining leads – one on each side – seen at Auxerre. Both types of strapwork leading appear well before mid-century, even at Auxerre, and color in grisaille was used even earlier.²³ The most important feature of these mid-century grisailles, including those at Auxerre and Saint-Père, is the role played by the strapwork itself. In the Museum's Auxerre panel, the strap edges the major components of the design, functioning, in effect, as an outlining fillet, making no pretense at describing its movements from one figure to another as an interlacing motif. It neither twists nor turns nor passes from one panel to the next, the absence of such movement emphasizing the self-contained nature of the panel's design. It is this characteristic more than any other that compels a dating of the

Museum's panel to about 1240, very close to that of the grisailles of Saint-Père, and following the completion of the building of the choir and ambulatory c.1234.²⁴

Bibliography: Viollet-le-Duc 1868–75, vol. 9, pp. 448–49 and fig. 40, reproduces the design and identifies it as originating in the Lady Chapel of Auxerre Cathedral; Ottin 1896, p. 25, fig. 20, discusses the design pattern and illustrates a portion based on the Viollet-le-Duc engraving; Acézat Sale 1969, lot 22, lists the Museum's glass among thirteen grisaille panels of varied patterns; Lillich 1978, p. 29 and fig. 6, examines the pattern in comparison to grisaille at Saint-Père at Chartres; *MMA Annual Report* 1983, p. 41, notes the panel's purchase by the Museum; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 98, gives basic information and bibliography; [New York 1999, pp. 108–9; Timothy B. Husband in Carboni et al. 2001, p. 35].

Panel from a Grisaille Window

Rectangular (almost square) panel: 58.5 × 56.3 cm (23 × 22½ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982. 204. 2)

Ill. nos. 21, 21/a, 21/figs. 1–3

Description: The panel is made of a warm, greenish white glass that is boldly cross-hatched. The concentric design radiates from a central round boss, painted with a stylized quatrefoil in reserve, surrounded by a canted square with trilobe buds at each cardinal point. Petal-shaped strapwork extends outward on the diagonal from the canted square to the four corners of the panel. Each of these petal-shaped lobes contains a straight vine, which twice bifurcates to reveal a stylized trilobe bud at each of the panel's corners. A long-stemmed foliate sprig, terminating in a stylized trilobe bud (each of whose buds, in turn, is trilobed), describes the interstices between the lobes. A second central canted square, whose strapwork interlocks in an over-and-under pattern with the diagonal petal-shaped lobes, is superimposed on the vine pattern. Vertical vines sprouting trilobe buds climb the lateral edges of the panel.

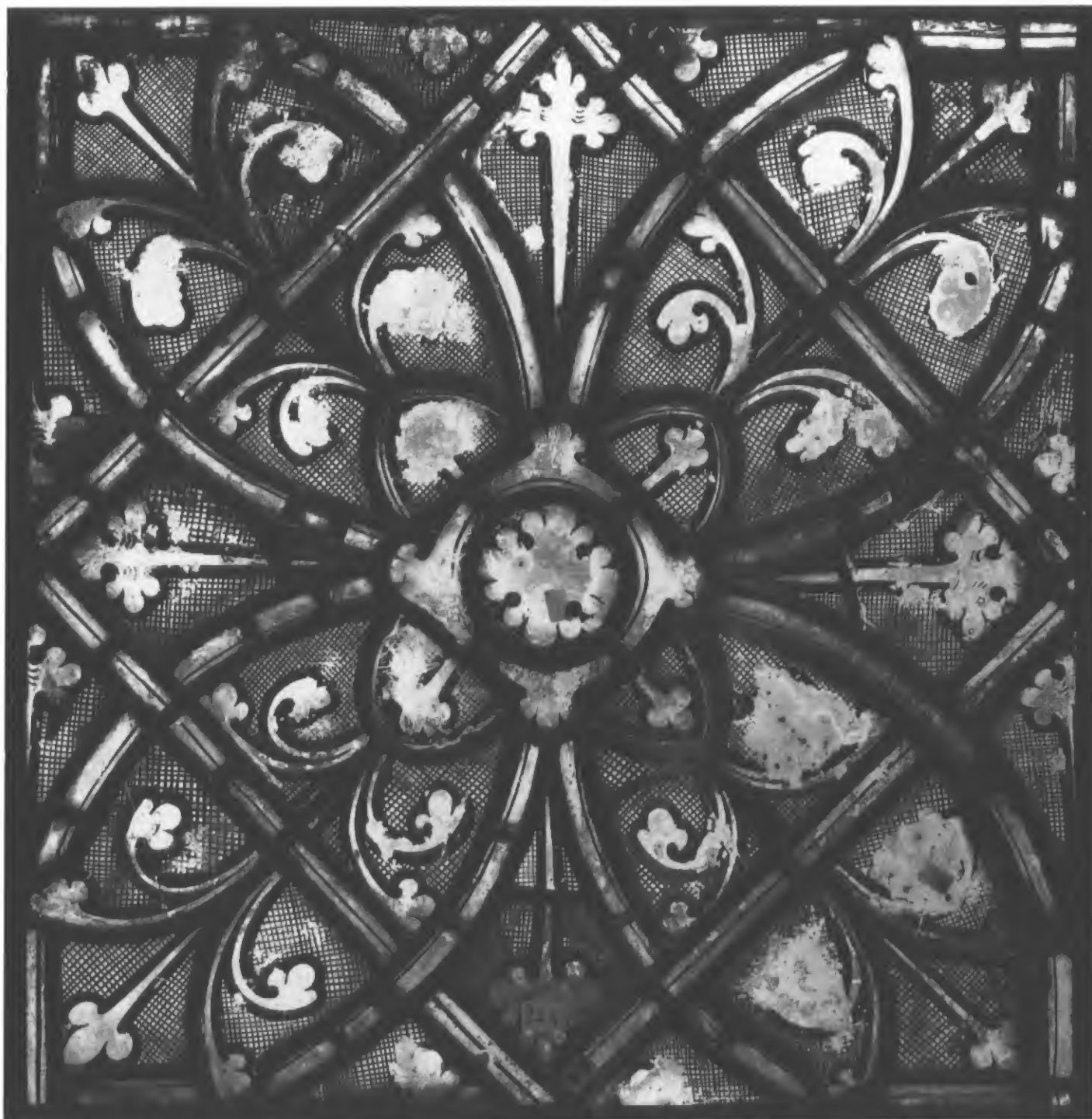
Condition: Although there are only a few replacement pieces evident in the panel, its condition is poor. The glass is very thick and coarsely grozed on the edges, many of which now show beyond the leads. There are multiple air bubbles – some intact, some broken – throughout the panel. The paint is rubbed off in many places and often appears palimpsestic both in apparently repainted sections and in untouched areas, as can be seen in the center boss, where in raking light the small circle in the center of the rosette can still be detected. Overpaint applied to outline various foliate buds is often clumsily done, and in a

few instances has formed crusting. The back of the panel reveals a uniform film of corrosion on the old glass and deep, widely spaced pitting, while the front shows a thin film of tiny pitting. The number “35/9,” painted in white, is found near the lower-right corner where paint has flaked off. In addition, abrasions to the paint are visible toward the center left of the panel. [In 1999 nine stress fractures in the panel were glued by Thomas Venturella, and the panel was given a brass frame in preparation for its display in the exhibition “Mirror of the Medieval World” at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.]

Photographic reference: Negative 228941.

NOTES

1. On Michel Acézat, see Lafond 1978, pp. 174–75, and J. J. K. Ray in Acézat Sale 1969.
2. *Ibid.*, lot 22.
3. Lucien Magne, letter of 11 March 1903, Paris, Archives Nationales, Commission des Monuments Historiques de France, quoted in Lafond 1978, p. 175 n. 225.
4. See Lafond 1978, pp. 172–75. On this practice at Auxerre, see Raguin 1982, pp. 62–63; more generally, see Brisac 1985, pp. 146 and 149–53.
5. [For recent discussions of Viollet-le-Duc and the practice of stained-glass restoration in the second half of the nineteenth century, see Jordan 1998, pp. 192–200, and Pastan 1990, pp. 155–66.]
6. For the glazing restorations at Auxerre, see the summary compiled from unpublished documents in Paris, Archives Nationales, Commission des Monuments Historiques de France, “Dossier 1566 bis, la cathédrale d'Auxerre,” in Raguin 1982, p. 119.
7. CV France, *Recensement III*, p. 113.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Lebeuf 1723, p. 136, cited in Lafond 1959, p. 61 n. 1, and CV France, *Recensement III*, p. 112.
10. See Lafond 1959, pp. 65–66; Raguin 1982, p. 119; and CV France, *Recensement III*, p. 112. [For a description of the sixteenth-century window subjects, see also Cotteau and Petit 1859, p. 19.]
11. Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, Grisaille G(1).
12. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6095, fol. 692v. [In 1859 bay 3 of the axial chapel was also described as being glazed with “Vitreaux formés d'entrelacs en grisailles”; Cotteau and Petit 1859, p. 19.]
13. Raguin 1982, p. 119, totals the original panels of the Jesse window at seven and those of the Theophilus window as at least one third of the Leprévost restoration; see also Lafond 1959, pp. 65–66. Leprévost's *Life of the Virgin* window is published in Roussel n.d., vol. 3, pl. 103.
14. For grisaille windows by Leprévost, see *ibid.*, pls. 82, 121, 124, and 125.
15. Viollet-le-Duc 1875, vol. 9, p. 450, fig. 40.
16. On glass from Saint-Denis left in the Gérentes' shop in Paris, see CV France, *Études I*, p. 54.
17. Viollet-le-Duc 1875, vol. 9, pp. 448 and 450, fig. 40.
18. For summaries of the building chronology of the choir at Auxerre, see Vallery-Radot 1959, pp. 45–46; Branner 1960, pp. 38–47 and 106–8; Titus 1988, pp. 45–52; and CV France, *Recensement III*, p. 111.
19. Lafond 1959, pp. 65–66.
20. See Raguin 1982, p. 63. For Saint-Jean-aux-Bois, see CV France, *Recensement I*, pp. 207–8; for Saint-Germain-des-Prés, see Shepard 1990, pp. 62–64, 138, and 192. Meredith Lillich has dubbed this type of glazing combination a “summer-and-winter” aesthetic; see Lillich 1994, p. 8.
21. [See Hayward and Lillich 1998, pp. 165–67.]
22. Lillich 1978, p. 29. In making a comparison to the grisaille pattern at Auxerre, Lillich also made reference to grisailles from the ambulatory of the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Troyes that Elizabeth Pastan more



21. Panel from a Grisaille Window. France, Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, c. 1240



21/a.
Restoration chart

- accurately dates to 1200–1220; see Pastan 1986, pp. 98–103; [Pastan 1994, pp. 215–21; and CV France V–1 (forthcoming).]
23. Lillich 1972, pp. 12–13. At Angers color is used in grisaille windows both at Saint-Serge and at the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice. For Saint-Serge, see Hayward 1976, pp. 255–57; for the cathedral, see Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 27–29.
24. [The dating for the stained glass of the axial chapel has not met with consensus. While some scholars date the glass closer to the completion

of the building fabric (e.g., 1235 in Lafond 1959, p. 60, and c.1230 in CV France, *Recensement* III, pp. 111 and 114), others have used style as a determining factor to date the glass closer to the middle of the century (c.1245 in Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 33; c.1240–45 in Lillich 1970, p. 33 n. 22; and the 1240s in Lillich 1978, p. 29 and fig. 6). Virginia Raguin interprets the glazing as dating to after the completion of the building fabric and extending to about 1245 (Raguin 1982, pp. 60–63, and Raguin in *Dictionary of Art* 1996, vol. 2, p. 846).]

22 & 23. TWO PROPHETS FROM A TREE OF JESSE WINDOW

France, Picardy, Beauvaisis (Oise)

c.1245

Related material: United States, Massachusetts, Worcester, Worcester Art Museum Prophet (22/fig. 1 [1937.140]).

History of the glass: These two panels, together with four other pieces of early French stained glass, were given to the Museum in 1926 by George D. Pratt (1869–1935) of Glen Cove, New York.¹ Pratt purchased the glass in the summer of 1926 on the advice of Bashford Dean (1867–1928), curator of the Museum's Department of Arms and Armor.² In advance, Dean wrote to Joseph Breck, curator of Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan, telling him of the forthcoming gift and pointing out that "the two figures (fin du XIIe) [Nos. 22 and 23] are from Le Mans, – they were obtained by Count de la Motte from the Chapter there about 40 years ago." However, even allowing for extensive restoration, these panels, which undoubtedly represent prophets holding their scrolls of prophecy, could never have come from the roughly contemporary Jesse Tree window in the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral of Saint-Julien at Le Mans. Not only the dimensions and the details of style but also the method of framing the prophets in half quatrefoils at Le Mans are very different from these scenes.³ Nevertheless, Le Mans may yet have some validity in the history of these panels, in that it could be hypothesized that they came through the Le Mans collector Julien Chappée (1862–1957), who was also a painter and designer of stained glass.⁴ Chappée amassed a considerable collection of medieval stained glass, which he also sold to dealers.⁵

Original location: Michael Cothren has associated these two prophets with a third figure in the Worcester Art Museum in Massachusetts (22/fig. 1) and identified all three as the remains of a *Tree of Jesse* window produced in a style associated with a group of windows produced for churches in the Beauvaisis during the 1240s.⁶ While the *Infancy of Christ* and Jesse Tree window in the central opening of the axial Virgin Chapel of the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais is the primary monument of this group, the Museum's prophets are more closely related

stylistically to the fragmentary remains of windows from a series of more modest parish churches at Agnières (Somme), Belle-Eglise (Oise), and Villers-Saint-Paul (Oise).⁷ Unfortunately, the precise church from which the Museum's prophets (as well as the example now at Worcester) came is unknown, but it was probably located in the Beauvaisis.

Iconography: These two figures were once part of lateral assemblies of prophets that framed a central depiction of the lineage of Jesse, the father of David (Isaiah 11:1), represented literally as a family tree. The prophets in Jesse Tree compositions serve as spiritual precursors who fore-



22/fig. 1. Prophet from a *Tree of Jesse*. France, Beauvaisis, c.1245. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts

tell the incarnation of God as man. Traditionally, they stand in registers beside the tree and hold scrolls lettered either with their names or with a passage from their prophecies.⁸ The scrolls of the Museum's prophets are somewhat unusual, as they contain letters that spell non-sensical words, apparently a tradition in the Beauvaisis since it also occurs at the cathedral.⁹ Frequently, the prophets point to the kingly ancestors or to the Virgin and Christ, who are shown enthroned within the branches of the tree; if that was originally the case here, the prophet (No. 22) with the replaced head has had the direction of his gaze reversed in the restoration. With the emphatic gesture of his left hand, it would be more likely that his original head looked to the left, the same direction to which his hand points. Such a pose is also found in the prophets of the Jesse Tree window at Agnières.¹⁰

Composition: Cothren has already noted compositional links between these two prophets and those of the Jesse Tree windows at Agnières and the Cathedral of Beauvais.¹¹ Throughout the Jesse Tree series, the prophets occupy long, narrow rectangular compartments. In the complete examples, these compartments are less than half the width of the central section. Like the Museum's prophets, these comparable figures stand on small mounds of turf painted with designs of foliage and grasses. Each panel in all three groups of prophets is surmounted by an architectural canopy; in the case of Agnières, as Cothren remarks, it is a simplification of the only slightly more elaborate canopies at Beauvais Cathedral.¹² The same observation can be made for the canopies of the Museum's figures, which are virtually identical to those at Agnières.

The comparisons between the lost window that contained the Museum's prophets and the related Jesse Tree panels at Agnières and Beauvais become even stronger when the method used to fit the topmost prophet into the space limited by the curve of the lancet arch is considered. In all three cases, the uppermost prophets are reduced in height, deprived of a canopy, and curved to fit into the wedge-shaped top compartment.¹³ The Worcester prophet (22/fig. 1), identified by Cothren (see **Original location**, above) as belonging to the same Beauvaisis window from which the Museum's two figures came,¹⁴ also displays such characteristics. Although this shortened figure has lost all of its surrounding blue background glass except for the piece between its feet, the curve of the back and the forward jut of the head follow the outer curve of the lancet and identify the subject as having been placed in the upper-left panel of the window.

Like their counterparts at Agnières and Beauvais, the canopies above the Museum's figures have no architectural supports that join them to the base of the scene. The architecture of the canopy consists of a brick wall below a crested cornice that is pierced by a crocketed gable with a

finial. Such a canopy arrangement for the prophets was one of two basic types of compositional framing in Jesse Tree windows of the thirteenth century.¹⁵

Among the Museum's two panels, Nos. 22 and 23, similarities not only in the poses but also in the drapery-fold patterns of the prophets indicate that parts of the same cartoon were reused in the creation of these figures. The area from below the neck down to the edge of the garment repeats in both panels, while the feet and the position of the head, including the replaced head of No. 22, differ. Reuse of cartoons in the stylistically related Beauvais Cathedral Jesse Tree has already been cited.¹⁶ If the original head of the prophet in No. 22 did look to the left (see **Condition**, below), it is also possible that the two figures originally occupied the same side of the Jesse Tree. An examination of the window at Beauvais, however, indicates that the pointing gesture is not always directed inward. Indeed, in the two upper registers at Beauvais the prophets on the right, though they look at Christ and the Virgin, gesture away from the center to their phylacteries. If this model were followed for the Metropolitan's prophets, it is conceivable that the figure with the replaced head still gazes in the direction originally intended.

In addition, the pose and attributes of these two figures are absolutely standard for Jesse Tree prophets at this time. The Museum's two prophets hold phylacteries, which typically would contain a biblical passage from their prophecies, but here there is only a line of random letters. This is not the only example of meaningless lettering on the prophets' scrolls.¹⁷ The practice may have been a result of the illiteracy of either the glass painter or of most of his audience, or, as Cothren has suggested in the case of the Beauvais prophets, a consequence of the fact that the distance of the window from the spectator made the lettering unreadable in any case.¹⁸

Style and date: Modeling of form in the prophets is achieved by trace lines of varying widths that serve in place of mat tones of different densities. Areas of deepest shadow, such as the inside of the arm, are modeled by broad strokes of trace, from which emerge groups of narrow trace lines, delineating the small-fold style of drapery. In both Nos. 22 and 23, the mantle is bunched in heavy, spiraling folds around the hand holding the phylactery. The drapery style is dry and perfunctory, somewhat less carefully conceived than that at Agnières. In all probability, these prophets and the window from which they came were conceived after those of Agnières and Beauvais, or somewhere in the mid-1240s.¹⁹

Bibliography: *BMMA* 1926a, p. 270, announces the gift of these panels; *BMMA* 1926b, p. 294, specifies their provenance as Le Mans; Comstock 1927, p. 49, ill., refers to the panels as a gift of George D. Pratt to the Museum and repeats the Le Mans provenance; New York 1971, no. 8;

Hayward 1971-72, pp. 116-17, identifies the figures as part of a Jesse Tree window; Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 22-23, relates these two figures to an atelier working in the region of the Oise valley near Beauvais; Cothren 1980, pp. 54-55 and 81-87, further defines the atelier and discusses a regional style; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 98, ill., gives basic information and bibliography; Cothren 1986b, pp. 47-48 and n. 21, discusses the structure of the regional Jesse Tree and, p. 55 n. 27, cites the Museum's panels.

22. Prophet from a Jesse Tree

Rectangular panel: without borders 51 × 24 cm

(20 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); total width 36.2 cm (14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926 (26.218.2)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 22, 22/a, 22/1, 22/fig. 1

Description: A red-nimbed figure in three-quarter pose stands on a white hillock against a sapphire blue background. He wears an olive green robe and a red mantle.

His flesh is a brownish pink that is repeated in the bande-rolle he carries in his right hand; he gestures to the left with his other hand. Above his head is an architectural canopy composed of a light yellow gable, olive green brickwork, and an architectural register in red with a brownish pink finial cresting below a white-edged cornice. The borders now forming the lateral edges of the panel have alternating blue and white symmetrical palmette volutes crowned with triads of berries against a red background. White pearled edge fillets frame each border. Below the white hillock at the panel's bottom edge is a strip of yellow glass.

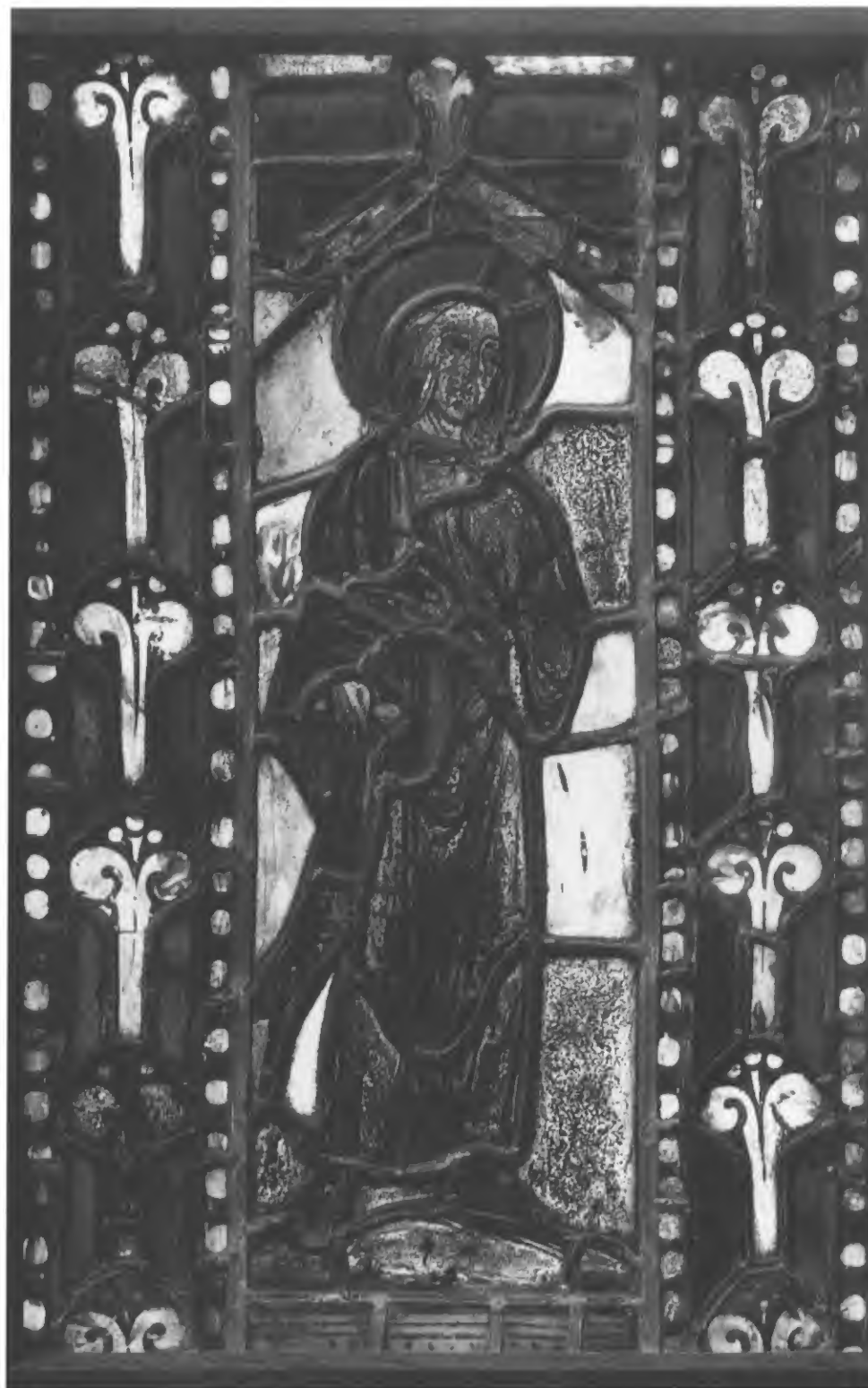
Inscription: SCROMSTIV

Condition: The original glass in this panel, including the blue glass of the background, is uniformly corroded with small pits that appear to have attacked the glass internally. They read as black specks against the light. Cothren has identified this form of corrosion as a distinguishing feature of all the known glass produced in this regional Beauvaisis style.²⁰ Here it is so intense that it has distorted the color of the glass, making it appear darker than the original tone. Aside from this corrosion, the panel is in good condition, with the most significant replacements being the figure's head (22/1) and nimbus.



22/1. Detail of replaced prophet's head

22. Prophet from a *Tree of Jesse* window. France, Beauvaisis, c. 1245



22/a. Restoration chart

Ornament: Although unquestionably old and perhaps contemporary with the figures, it is unlikely that the border strips that now flank the prophet in this panel (as well as that in No. 23) are sections of the original border of the window. It is stylistically distinct from the borders on the other Jesse Tree windows in the regional group identified by Cothren, which are virtually identical and are much finer in their painted detail, not reflected in the inept coarseness of this example. In fact, there is so much new glass in these border sections that the possibility that they are the work of a restorer piecing together a few fragments of original glass must be strongly considered.

Photographic references: The panel was photographed shortly after it was given to the Museum in 1926, negative 64610.

23. Prophet from a Jesse Tree

Rectangular panel: without borders 51 × 24 cm

(20 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.); total width 36.2 cm (14 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1926 (26.218.3)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 23, 23/a, 23/1

Description: A red-nimbed, bearded figure in three-quarter pose steps on to a white hillock against a sapphire blue

background. He wears an olive green robe and a murrey mantle. His flesh is a brownish pink that is repeated in the banderole he carries. Above his head is an architectural canopy composed of a white gable, olive green brickwork, and an architectural register in murrey with a brownish pink finial cresting below a white-edged cornice. The borders on the lateral edges of the panel have alternating blue and white symmetrical palmette volutes crowned with triads of berries against a red background. White pearly edge fillets frame each border.

Inscription: SCPHRSSS

Condition: Heavy interior corrosion that forms small black pits in the glass, evident in the figure in No. 22, also occurs in this panel. The upper-left and lower-right areas of the blue background have been replaced. Within the figure itself, the cuff of the left sleeve has been replaced with red glass, and two pieces of the robe, covering the figure's left leg, have been repaired with pale green stopgaps. The left hand is also a stopgap.

Style: The original head of the prophet (23/1) permits an analysis of the facial features of this Beauvaisis style. The head is large in proportion to the body; the hands and especially the feet are tiny in comparison. The corners of the mouth droop, and the lower lip protrudes in a pout. The eyes are large and staring, with small pupils that float in the eyeballs; the lids are accentuated by a double line both above and below; and the brows follow the curve of



23/1. Detail of prophet's head



23. Prophet from a *Tree of Jesse* window. France, Beauvaisis, c.1245

23/a.
Restoration
chart



the lid. A curl in the center of the beard is repeated at the part in the hair. The small-fold drapery style of the figure in No. 22 is also noticeable here, as are the dart-shaped edgings and tubular folds. As in No. 22, parallel lines of trace act as shading, seen here at the edge of the mantle below the catenary folds or beside the scroll. The drawing of the drapery is not studied and often appears unresolved and hastily done, particularly in the bundle of fabric around the hands holding the scrolls. The similarity of that passage in both figures suggests that the glass painter reused the same cartoon.

Photographic reference: The panel was photographed shortly after it was given to the Museum in 1926, negative 64611. Negative 184733 is a detail of the figure's head and upper body.

NOTES

1. The other panels purchased in this lot by Pratt are catalogued here as Nos. 1; 2A,B; 6; and 17.
2. Museum records indicate that the lot of six panels was made up of independent purchases made from Augustin Lambert as well as from André Lion, both of Paris. Since the two men worked independently, perhaps the figural panels came from one dealer and the ornament and borders from the other.
3. See Catherine Brisac in Mussat et al. 1981, pp. 109–10, and CV France, *Recensement* II, p. 247. For illustrations of the Le Mans prophets, see the nineteenth-century watercolor tracings published by Eugène Hucher in Hucher 1864, nos. 29–30 and 34.
4. Chappée designed the windows (1923–29) in the Chapel of Jeanne d'Arc in the Cathedral of Le Mans; see Roger Barrié in Mussat et al. 1981, p. 180. [For Chapée, see Paris 1989, p. 170.]
5. See CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 109, and CV US, *Checklist* III, p. 65, for four panels that were once in the Chappée collection but later sold through dealers other than Lambert and Lion. The two panels catalogued in *Checklist* II were bought by Raymond Pitcairn from Arnold Seligmann, Paris; the two panels catalogued in *Checklist* III were purchased by William Randolph Hearst from A. Seligmann, Rey & Co., New York. A tantalizing but ambiguous piece of further evidence is contained in a letter written by Louis Grodecki to James Rorimer in March 1950: "Pour Le Mans, je crois même avoir la photographie inédite d'un de vos fragments, quand il était encastré dans un panneau restauré entre 1895 et 1912, d'où ce morceau a été enlevé." When questioned about this letter in 1978, Grodecki could no longer locate the photograph or remember any further details about it.
6. Cothren in Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 22–23; Cothren 1980, pp. 81–87; Cothren in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 52–55; and Cothren 1986b. See also CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 64.
7. See Cothren 1986b, fig. 9a (Agnières) and 9b (Beauvais).
8. On the earliest examples in stained glass, at Saint-Denis, the prophets display quotations, while at Chartres they hold their names. For discussion of the inclusion of prophets in the representation of the *Tree of Jesse*, see Watson 1934.
9. See Cothren in Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 22–23.
10. See n. 7 above.
11. See Cothren 1986b, pp. 47–48 and n. 27.
12. See n. 7 above.
13. Cothren 1986b, p. 48.
14. Cothren in Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 22–23; see also n. 6 above.
15. For the composition of the prophets in Jesse Tree windows, see Cothren 1980, pp. 53–55.
16. See *ibid.*, pp. 57–59.
17. Nonsensical words are also used in the Jesse Tree windows at Beauvais and Gercy.
18. See Cothren 1986b, p. 48 n. 21.
19. The dating of the axial Lady Chapel at Beauvais Cathedral and its glazing, which seems to be the cornerstone for the Beauvais style, is a complicated problem. Michael Cothren, who develops his ideas on this question in Cothren 1980, pp. 19–20 and 47–150; CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 55; and Cothren 1986b, pp. 61–62, places the completion of the windows at c. 1245; however, I prefer a slightly earlier date. Stephen Murray, in Murray 1980, pp. 533–51, and Murray 1989, pp. 58–60, analyzes both the building and relevant documentation and asserts that the radiating chapels of the hemicycle date from the late 1230s to the 1240s; *ibid.*, p. 60. For the Lady Chapel, he prefers a date after 1239, in consequence of the offices having been established there by Bishop Robert de Cressonsac (1237–1248). In conversation with Murray on 13 February 1987, a number of these points of chronology were refined, and in his opinion the architecture of the Lady Chapel was completed by 1242. I believe that the glazing was finished no more than a year later, by 1243, which would still permit a subsequent date of c. 1245 for the Museum's prophets. [For further discussion of these issues, see Cothren's forthcoming study of the stained glass of Beauvais Cathedral.]
20. Cothren 1986b, pp. 60–61 and n. 29.

24 & 25. TWO SCENES FROM A RELICS OF THE PASSION WINDOW

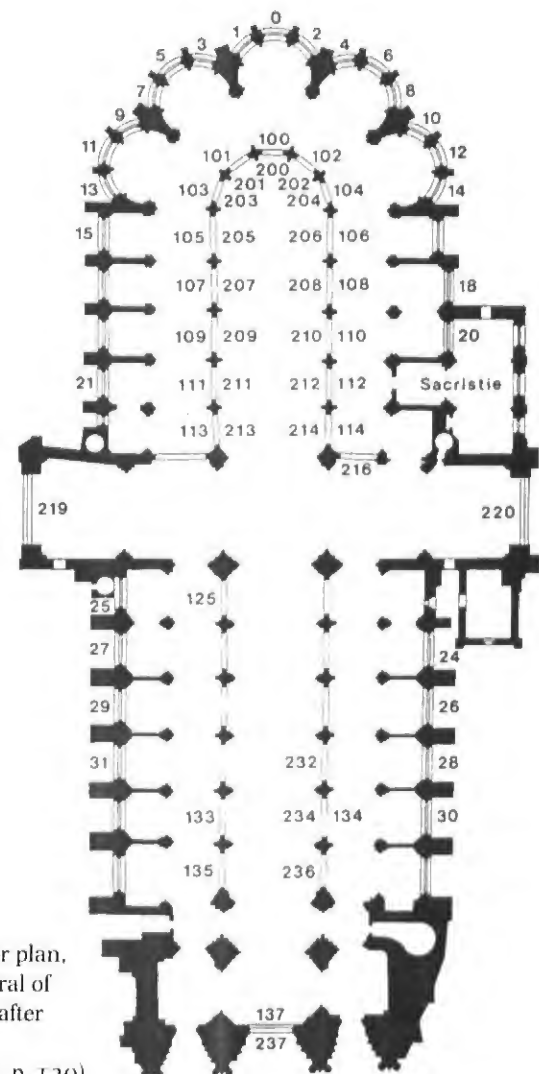
France (Indre-et-Loire), Tours, Cathedral of
Saint-Gatien, ambulatory (?)

1245–48

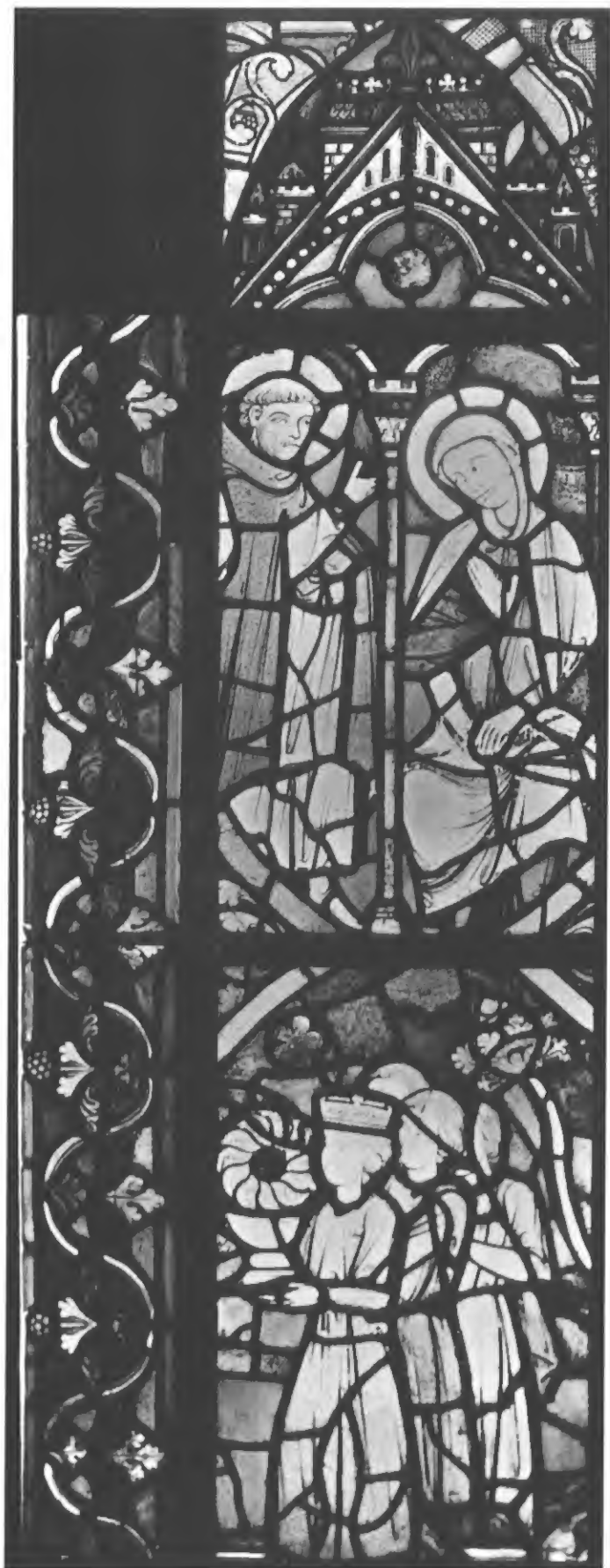
History of the glass: In February 1937 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (1874–1960), purchased these two panels of stained glass, together with two other scenes attached to them (Nos. 26 and 27; see 24/1 and 25/1), and gave them to The Cloisters.¹ The dealers who sold the glass to Rockefeller were the Parisian firm of Brimo and Lion, a short-lived partnership between Brimo de Laroussilhe and André Lion. At the time the provenance given for the four panels was “A church in Troyes.” However, there is no known glazing program in Troyes into which these panels would fit, either iconographically or stylistically. The provenance remained uncertain until 1974, when Linda M. Papanicolaou, researching the glazing of the high choir of the Cathedral of Saint-Gatien at Tours, found a reference by Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) that identified these two panels as having been in a window of one of the ambulatory chapels when he visited the Cathedral at Tours before 1852.² Guilhermy’s description leaves no doubt as to the identity of the panels: “Un évêque, debout sur un édifice, montre un objet circulaire, de couleur verte, qui me parait la sainte couronne d’épines. Un homme du peuple agenouille et joint les mains. . . . Un petit personnage imberbe, debout, couronné, vêtu de rouge, porte la sainte couronne sur un vase d’or; deux ou trois personnages le suivent. Les deux sujets de la sainte couronne sont placés les eniojanes.”³ Guilhermy further explained the subject as episodes from the history of the Crown of Thorns.

At Tours the windows of the ambulatory bays, in contrast to the extensive remains of the clerestory and triforium glazing, contain a mixture of glass original to the cathedral as well as other old glass; sixty of the panels in these bays were purchased in 1810 from another church in Tours, probably the disaffected Abbey of Saint-Julien. Between 1852 and 1863 all of the thirteenth-century glass at Tours Cathedral was restored and rearranged by Julien-Léopold Lobin (1814–1864) and Lucien-Léopold Lobin (1837–1892), father and son glaziers. Lobin père eliminated extraneous panels from the ambulatory glazing; these found their way into his own collection.⁴ Among them must have been the Crown of Thorns panels, since they are not mentioned in later accounts of the cathedral glass. Where these panels spent the eighty-five years between their removal by the Lobins and their purchase for The Cloisters is not known.⁵ At some point they were restored, for the green Crown of Thorns held by the archbishop, which Guilhermy described, no longer exists; in its place is a stopgap of blue glass.

Original location: The glass of the cathedral ambulatory chapels (24/fig. 1), constructed beginning 1233–34, seems to have suffered over the years from a variety of natural causes, to the point that in 1810 the chapter was searching for replacements among the surrounding parishes and monastic foundations disaffected by the French Revolution.⁶ Of the ambulatory glass that still exists, scholars generally agree that the *New Alliance* window in the axial bay remains in the place for which it was made,⁷ and the three hagiographical windows in the radiating chapel to the north (bays 3, 5, and 7) are probably from the original glazing as well.⁸ Louis Grodecki attributed the glass of these four bays to the original program for the chapel glazing because it showed no influence of the Sainte-Chapelle style, and he dated the windows before 1245; these ideas agree with Papanicolaou’s theory that the chapel glazing, like the building campaign, may have been halted by Louis’s Crusade levy of 1248.⁹ It is Papanicolaou’s contention that a second phase in the glazing of the ambulatory chapels at Tours took place between 1245 and 1248 and that one of the ateliers, of Parisian origin, designed a window based on a reduced version of the *Relics of the Passion* window in the Sainte-



24/fig. 1. Floor plan,
Tours, Cathedral of
Saint-Gatien (after
CV France,
Recensement II, p. 120)



24/I. Panel condition with No. 27, c.1937



25/I. Panel condition with No. 26, c.1937

Chapelle.¹⁰ That the chapter at Tours would hire glass painters from Paris is not surprising, since the architect who redesigned the triforium and clerestory tracery to conform with the new style of the Sainte-Chapelle came from Paris.¹¹ Based on these hypotheses, we can postulate that the Crown of Thorns panels would have been made for a window in one of the side chapels of the cathedral choir.

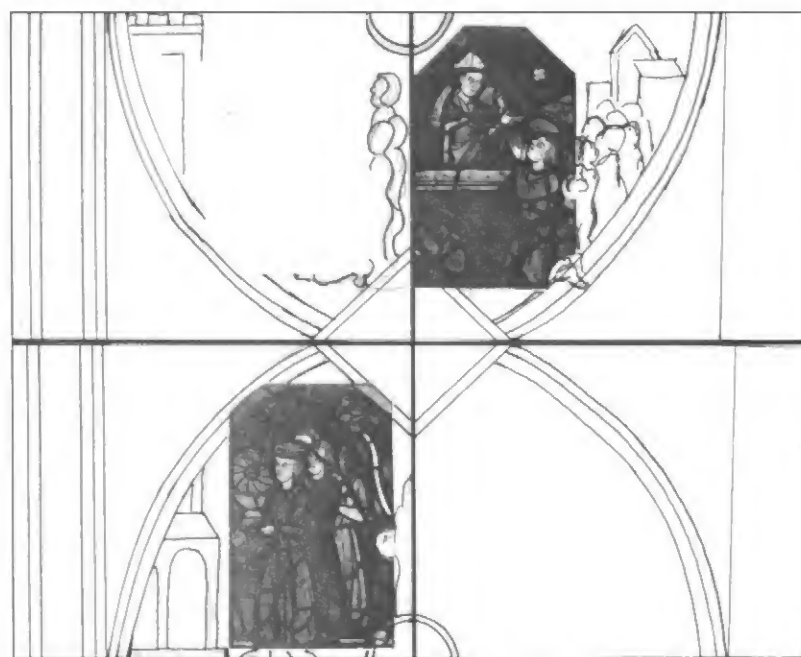
Iconographic program: The central theme of the original ambulatory program was contained in the typological New Alliance window (combining scenes of the Passion with Old Testament scenes of salvation) that still occupies its original position in the central bay of the axial chapel (bay 0) and in the windows illustrating the *Lives of the Apostles* in the northeast chapel. Revisions in the glazing campaign after 1245 included the introduction of a new workshop. Among other windows made at this time were a *Last Judgment*, of which fragments remain in bays 5 and 7; a *Life of St. Martin of Tours*; and two partial panels that may have come from a *Pentecost* scene (26 and 27). The *Relics of the Passion* window at Tours (as at Sainte-Chapelle) brought history up to date with the inclusion of contemporary events: the window recounted Saint Louis's acquisition of such relics of the Passion as the Crown of Thorns and a fragment of the True Cross, which he had brought to France and installed in the Sainte-Chapelle, constructed for that purpose. The Tours *Last Judgment* window, in which angels holding the instruments of the Passion formed the centers of the clusters, added a further reference to the relics. The series of Apostle windows at Tours seems to have terminated with the Acts, as at the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, with only fragments of the Pentecost remaining. St. Martin, the most important saint of the diocese of Tours, was naturally included.¹²

Composition: Both panels appear to have been cut down, thus destroying their original shape. The only indication of the initial window composition is the red fillets in the top corners of the panel of *King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns*. These fillets, though early repairs, follow the original placement of the glass. The fillet in the upper-left corner is arc shaped, while the fillet opposite has a straight edge, creating an almost 45-degree angle. These two edges, if projected as in illustration 24/2, suggest the top of a quadrant panel, probably the most common compositional arrangement during the middle of the thirteenth century.¹³ The window would have been divided by straight irons into four compartments, together having a circular perimeter, with each medallion joined to the next by a lozenge-shaped boss of ornament.

The top of the *Archbishop Gauthier Cornut displaying the Crown of Thorns* panel has been restored, following the loss of the Crown of Thorns present in Guilhermy's description. The straight-edged fillets that mark the upper cor-

ners of this panel are both alike and are stopgaps of old glass. Though it cannot be proven, the ornament in the lower-left corner of the panel is of the same type as that in the corners of the *King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns* and thus may be some of the original border stopped in to fill the gap occupied by a part of the center boss of the windows. This would indicate that the scene was probably located in the lower-right quadrant of a medallion. The incidents that are described in these scenes occur fairly close together in the narrative, with perhaps only two other events, the arrival of the relic in Paris and its temporary deposit in the chapel of St. Nicholas, intervening. The hypothetical reconstruction (24/2) based on quartered medallions would place the panel depicting King Louis carrying the Crown of Thorns to Sens in the upper-left quadrant of a lower medallion, and the scene of Archbishop Cornut displaying the relic to the people of Paris would have appeared in the lower-right quadrant of a contiguous upper medallion. The size of the bay would permit four and a half medallions in the window, an arrangement standard for other bays in the ambulatory.¹⁴

Style and date: Despite the lack of correspondence in iconography between these two panels and the Relics window at the Sainte-Chapelle (see below), the source of their style, as Papanicolaou has concluded, is Parisian.¹⁵ In her analysis of the style of these panels and her consequent definition of the atelier, Papanicolaou found compelling similarities between its oeuvre and that of Robert Branner's "Vie de Saint-Denis" workshop,¹⁶ which was active in Paris between 1230 and 1250 and produced a number of extant manuscripts. In that atelier's work, as exemplified



24/2. Hypothetical organization of Nos. 24 and 25 within a *Relics of the Passion* window, Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien (reconstruction: author)



24/fig. 2. *Virgin and Child*. France, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Libellus of Saint-Denis*, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 1098, fol. 58, c.1250

by an illumination of the *Virgin and Child* (24/fig. 2), the drapery is drawn in smooth, concentric, flat folds that bunch up in jutting fishhooks, also seen in the archbishop's chasuble (No. 25). Fold channels in the *Vie de Saint-Denis Virgin and Child*, as in the *Cloisters* panels, are filled with delicately graded shadow, and gatherings at the waistline are described by loops. This so-called flat-fold style of both the Tours and *Vie de Saint-Denis* workshops apparently coexisted during the 1240s with the broken-fishhook-fold style of the *Sainte-Chapelle* Master.

Compared to the work of the *Sainte-Chapelle* Master, the heads of the Tours panels are less exaggerated and the full jaw lines are more rounded, reminiscent of the later style of the Tours hemicycle or of the Cathedral of Saint-Julien at Le Mans upper ambulatory, yet not as elongated and without the characteristic furrowed brows of those visages. The features of the Tours heads, however, do have in common with these programs the pair of barbed strokes that break the continuous line of the nose and the eyebrows. The almond-shaped eyes are wide and staring, with the small pupil attached to one end of the steeply arched line that defines the upper lid; the line of the lower

lid is very slightly curved. Both lids are double lined, with a distinct pouch created below the lower one. The nose is soft and fleshy, and the mouth has a small, rounded lower lip that gives it a pouting expression. The hair falls in soft waves, either turned under around the ears or pulled back to expose small, rounded ears.

The lack of stylistic influence exerted by the *Sainte-Chapelle* on this atelier, in contrast to its widespread effect on later monuments, as at the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons and at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Pierre at Saint-Julien-du-Sault, is a strong reason (in addition to the previously noted absence of iconographic impact) to consider that the *Tours Relics of the Passion* window may have been created contemporaneously with the *Relics* window of the *Sainte-Chapelle*.¹⁷ If the glazing in the ambulatory at Tours occurred between 1245 and 1248, as Papanicolaou has suggested, it is perhaps conceivable that the *Crown of Thorns* window at Tours may have been installed before the one in Paris.¹⁸ The atelier at Tours appears to have executed several windows in the ambulatory and possibly stayed on to work in the clerestory when another group of Parisian glass painters came down to the provincial center to take charge.¹⁹

Condition: Conservation work, scheduled for 2003, will remove the repair leads for Nos. 24–27; breaks will be mended with epoxy. Certain stopgaps, such as the flower in No. 25 and the head of the second Apostle in No. 26, will be toned down by inserting back plates with matte paint.

Photographic reference: The panels, along with Nos. 26 and 27, had been photographed as Ektachromes complete with borders and canopies, and these Ektachromes were copied in black and white for purchase purposes by the Museum, negatives MM62106 and MM62107. The Ektachromes were the property of the dealers Brimo and Lion, Paris. Record 3 × 4 negatives were made in December 1937 when the four panels were accessioned, negatives 113356 and 113357. The glass was rephotographed in January 1973 when it was reinstalled in the Early Gothic Hall at The Cloisters, negative 198832.

Bibliography: Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6111, fol. 24v; *BMMA* 1937, p. 44, lists the glass as the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; Rorimer 1938a, p. 12, fig. 9, announces the acquisition of the glass for The Cloisters; Rorimer 1963, p. 56, describes the glass and gives the dealer's provenance as a church in Troyes; Papanicolaou 1979, pp. 151–55, pl. 25, relates these panels to Tours; Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 53–66, figs. 1 and 2, publishes the Guilhermy reference and attributes the panels to the Tours ambulatory; Sturm 1982, pp. 2–3, ill. 2, publishes the *King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns* panel in color; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 99, gives basic information and bibliography; [Jordan 2002, p. 74.]

24. King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns

Rectangular panel: 57.8 × 34.3 cm (22 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1937 (37.173.3)

Ill. nos. 24, 24/a, 24/1-3, 24/figs. 1 and 2

Description: A king dressed in a long, bright red robe and wearing an amber yellow crown holds a chalice of the same color on which rests a light green wreath. Behind him are two men dressed in long robes, belted at the waist; the figure directly behind the king is clothed in bright green and the one behind him is in amber yellow

with a murrey mantle. The head of a fourth figure appears in back of the group. At top an amber yellow star and a tree of amber yellow and red buds with light green foliage and a white stem frame the figures. A white strip shows in the foreground below the dark cobalt background. The edge fillets at top and bottom are bright red, as are those in the top corners. The ornament in the upper corners is light blue and that in the lower right is white.

Condition: A considerable amount of the blue background in the upper part of the panel and the tree have been replaced, primarily with old glass. The figures are intact except for the upper arm and head of the third figure.

24. *King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns.* France, Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien, 1245-48



24/a. Restoration chart



There is substantial fine surface pitting on the inner face of the panel, particularly on the red, green, and yellow glass; the pitting is less dense on the light brownish white flesh glass and least affects the white, light green, and murrey glasses. The blue glass shows pitting on the exterior face. Surface wear of the paint is minimal.

Composition: Though the red fillets in the upper corners of the panels have been restored, they appear to be repairs that maintain the original disposition of the glass, suggesting that the initial shape of the panel marked the quadrant of a medallion. Examples of scenes forming quadrants or lateral halves of a circle or ellipse on mosaic grounds are found at the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais, the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Rouen, the Lady Chapel at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, the Sainte-Chapelle, and in all of the monuments that derive from the latter two Parisian chapels. The lower edge of the panel that showed the figures' feet has been cut off, as has the left side of the scene, which probably would have included the city gate of Sens. Used here to indicate a crowd, the method of overlapping and stacking figures was also common in stained glass of the period.

Iconography: The elaborate casing used to protect the relic is carefully described in Archbishop Gauthier Cornut's thirteenth-century eyewitness account of the history of

the Crown of Thorns. In fact, the same scene in the Relics window at the Sainte-Chapelle shows the king and his brother, Robert of Artois, carrying the relic encased in its special chest, supported on poles that rest on their shoulders.²⁰ Yet the painter who made this panel has dispensed with the covering, an omission probably devised to make the story immediately comprehensible to the viewer. Based on current history rather than the widely known legend of a saint, the window may well have needed interpretation. In other aspects, however, the master of this window has taken considerable care to follow the contemporaneous account of the story. Cornut describes the king's journey to Villeneuve l'Archevêque to meet couriers at the very edge of the French realm; accompanied by courtiers, Louis and his brother, barefoot and dressed only in tunics, carried the crown to Sens, where it was placed in the cathedral overnight.²¹ Here the king's bare feet have been cut off, but two scallops in the hem of his robe indicate where they were. King and companions are clothed simply in long-sleeved, belted tunics; only the crown distinguishes the figure of Louis from the others. In deference to the sanctity of the relic, it is placed in a golden chalice.

Ornament and costumes: In these elements one finds both differences and similarities between the present panel and the Relics window of the Sainte-Chapelle. The twists of the



24/3. Detail, heads of King Louis IX and companions

Crown of Thorns repeat the same curving lines that define the Crown at the Sainte-Chapelle, but the leafy foliage in the Tours Crown of Thorns is not present in the Parisian example.²² The king's crown at Tours almost exactly duplicates the one worn by the king in the Sainte-Chapelle Relics window – it is, after all, the most common type found in windows of the period.²³ The figures' long-sleeved, belted tunics reach to their ankles. Normally, such a tunic would be covered by a surcoat with slits for the arms. According to Archbishop Cornut, Louis, in an act of humility, wore a simple tunic and no shoes. The king is similarly clothed in the Sainte-Chapelle scene.

Color and technique: The red of the king's tunic is an exceptionally brilliant shade. The green used for the Crown of Thorns is pale, with a slightly bluish cast and considerably lighter than the bright green of the tunic worn by Robert of Artois. The most unusual color is the bright amber yellow, almost a true light orange. A slight purplish cast is detectable in the blue of the original background, while the light brown base color of the flesh has a decidedly pinkish tone. Noteworthy is the effective way in which this limited palette has been employed.

Trace lines vary in thickness from the hair-thin strokes used to describe the facial features to the broad troughs, often an eighth of an inch wide, used for the drapery folds. The trace appears to have been laid on first, since the mats that outline the eye follow the trace. The mat tones (24/3), medium light and medium dark, are painted on wet, with the darker tone applied over the lighter one. In the drapery the wash terminates in a series of delicate single brushstrokes that from a short distance give the impression of a graded shadow where the folds open out. There appears to have been no use of the stylus either for highlights or to modify the paint. A minimum of back painting was used to strengthen the drapery folds. This is a very competent and simple painting technique.

Photographic reference: Negative 198832.

25. Archbishop Gauthier Cornut displaying the Crown of Thorns

Rectangular panel: 57.5 × 34.3 cm (22⁵/₈ × 13¹/₂ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1937 (37.173.4)

Ill. nos. 25, 25/a, 25/I

Description: An archbishop wearing an alb, a red chasuble, a white pallium marked with black crosses, and a white miter with lappets holds aloft the now missing Crown of Thorns. He stands upon the green rampart of a building with an amber yellow parapet and a bridgelike foundation through which the blue background shows.

Before him kneels a man with hands raised in acclamation, dressed in a pinkish murrey tunic. The lower-left corner shows a blue berry cluster on a red field, and the upper corners are filled with gold and red fillets.



25/a.
Restoration chart

Condition: Most of the upper background around the archbishop's head and between his outstretched hands was restored prior to Rockefeller's purchase, including the small white floret and the corner fillets. With the exception of several pieces above the kneeling man's head, however, none of the lower background is original. The ornament in the lower-right corner is a stopgap, but that at the lower left may be original, albeit not in its intended location. The figural part of the scene is intact, with the exception of the angled face of the parapet next to the kneeling man. The paint is in remarkably good condition, with few chipped areas. There is considerable surface patination on all colors of glass except the white.

Composition: If the ornament in the lower-left corner of the panel is, as suspected, original but displaced from the border, then the oblique angle of the space it fills would indicate that the scene could have occupied the lower-right quadrant of the cluster medallion mentioned above (24/2). This disposition would also locate the truncated panel in the left half of the quadrant, indicating considerable loss on the right side where additional worshippers would have stood. The width of the panel is based on the width of the ambulatory windows at Tours, which is 1.6 meters (63 inches).

Iconography: As in the preceding scene, the iconography of this panel does not closely follow that of the Sainte-



25. Archbishop
Gautier Cornut
displaying the
Crown of Thorns.
France, Tours,
Cathedral of
Saint-Gatien,
1245-48

Chapelle window, in which Archbishop of Sens Gauthier Cornut (d. 1241) is shown frontally holding the crown, as though standing on a balcony, where he is flanked by the king and queen. He does, however, wear the pallium, symbol of his rank as archbishop, in both scenes.²⁴

Color: All of the colors described in the previous scene are present in this panel, including the amber – almost orange – yellow; the intense blue with purplish tint; and the medium green. The color of the kneeling man's costume is the most unusual in this scene, an intense pinkish murrey that verges on salmon. Such distinctive colors as it and the orange yellow are not found at the Sainte-Chapelle, where the murrey has a low-intensity bluish cast and the yellow is a brilliant canary hue.

Photographic reference: Negative 198832.

NOTES

1. When purchased, the scene of *King Louis IX carrying the Crown of Thorns* (No. 24) was joined to the panel depicting St. Martin and the Virgin (No. 27), and the scene of *Archbishop Cornut displaying the Crown* (No. 25) was attached to the piece showing the *Two Seated Apostles* (No. 26). All four of these panels were incorporated into the original installation of the glass at The Cloisters, where they were set in frames of white glass, completed with round arches at the top, and placed in the two lateral windows above the altar in the Langon Chapel (see text ill. 14). Prior to their arrival at The Cloisters, each of the joined sets of panels had included a strip of foliate border on the left edge and an architectural canopy at the top, which were removed before the glass was offered to the Museum and which have since disappeared. Two early Ektachromes from the Museum's Department of Medieval Art files show the glass before its purchase for The Cloisters, Nos. 24/1 and 25/1.
2. Guilhermy visited the cathedral in 1843, 1844, 1848, and 1852 (before the restoration of the choir windows, which began in 1852 and continued until 1863), as well as in 1871 and 1875. For a summary of bibliography and campaigns of restoration, see CV France, *Recensement II*, pp. 120–32.
3. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6111, fol. 24v [published in Papanicolaou 1980, p. 55].
4. Lobin père was not alone in appropriating discarded panels for his own collection. Some restorers were given glass they removed in payment for their services; others often had to wait long periods of time before being paid by the state. For a discussion of the private collections of restorers, see Lafond 1978, pp. 93–209; see also Caviness 1984b, pp. 69–72.
5. The stained-glass borders once attached to the panels (see n. 1 above) may help to trace the panels from the time they were taken from Tours Cathedral by Lobin between 1852 and 1863 to the time they were bought for The Cloisters. One of these borders (24/1) is a familiar pattern; the two panels comprising it duplicate the pattern of a border that once surrounded a large standing figure of a king previously in the collection of William Randolph Hearst. (For the figure and border, see CV US, *Checklist III*, pp. 46 and 49; the photographic catalogue of the Hearst collection is now at C. W. Post Center of Long Island University, Greenvale, New York, Special Collections Library, ms. "Catalogue of the Collections of William Randolph Hearst," [International Studio Art Corp., Index compiled 2/18/1939], Stained Glass, vols. 101–4, no. 459–11; see also Hearst Collection 1941, p. 329, no. 459–11; for the Forest Lawn inventory, see Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Glendale, California, Architectural Department Archives, ms. "Bill of Sale, List of Stained Glass in New York and San Simeon," November 1956, no. 459–11.) The route by which Hearst obtained this glass may parallel the collections history of the Cloisters panels.
6. Among the purchases were sixty panels from the Abbey Church of Saint-Julien at Tours. Though glass is said to have been brought from the basilica of Saint-Martin at Tours, destroyed in 1804 (see CV France, *Recensement II*, pp. 121, 123, and 124), no documentation supports this.
7. See Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 156; CV France, *Recensement II*, p. 123; and Papanicolaou 1980, p. 63.
8. Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 156, and Papanicolaou 1980, p. 63.
9. Ibid., pp. 62–63, outlines her reasons for dating and attribution.
10. Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 156, and Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 59–64.
11. Branner 1965, pp. 38–39 and 65–67.
12. The *Life of St. Martin* now in bays 4 and 8 may have been among the panels acquired by the Chapter in 1810, or they may have been moved from the transept as Boissonnot believed; see CV France, *Recensement II*, pp. 121–24.
13. At Saint-Germain-des-Prés, a contemporary program, the *Life of the Virgin* and the St. Germain windows were both of similar format; see Verdier 1962–63, pp. 39–99. The Court Style windows from the nave of the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons, reused in the axial chapel of the ambulatory, are also based on a quadrant system; see Ancien 1980, vol. 1, pp. 145–53, ill.
14. The size of the ambulatory bays are given in CV France, *Recensement II*, pp. 123–24, as 7 meters high by 1.6 meters wide (approximately 23 feet by 63 inches). Both bay 0 and bay 1 have four and a half medallions.
15. Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 59–64.
16. Branner 1977, pp. 87–93, 95–96, and figs. 244–71.
17. [This conclusion is not shared by Papanicolaou; see Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 59–64.]
18. Ibid., pp. 62–63.
19. Ibid., pp. 54–59, attributes the remains of several windows to this atelier, including a *Last Judgment*, fragments of which are in the north chapel of the ambulatory. Related fragments are also at The Cloisters (see Nos. 26 and 27). Certain figures in the Infancy window of the apse clerestory appear to be by this same hand.
20. See Grodecki in CV France I, p. 307, and pls. 83–84.
21. Cornut 1649, pp. 407–11. For a general history of the event, see Labarge 1968, pp. 62–66.
22. The best illustration of the Sainte-Chapelle Crown of Thorns is that given in Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pl. 87.
23. See CV France I, pls. 41, 53, 56, 57, 61, and 83.
24. [For an alternative reading of the "Relics window" at the Sainte-Chapelle, see Jordan 1994, pp. 95–101 and 557–601, as well as Jordan 2002, pp. 58–69.]

26 & 27. TWO PANELS WITH FIGURES FROM CHRISTOLOGICAL AND ST. MARTIN WINDOWS

France (Indre-et-Loire), Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien, ambulatory (?)

1245–48

History of the glass: Like the previous panels (Nos. 24 and 25), these two pieces were purchased by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. (1874–1960), from the Parisian firm of Brimo and Lion in February of 1937 and given to The Cloisters, which opened to the public the following year (see Nos. 24 and 25, **History of the glass**).

Original location and iconographic program: It is possible that these two panels were once joined together and that the subject of the scene was the *Pentecost*. The monk in the panel depicting the Virgin, which Linda M. Papanicolaou has identified as a figure from the scene of the *Miracle of the Pine Tree* in a stylistically similar St. Martin window, is an addition and does not belong to the original composition (for further discussion of the St. Martin panel, see No. 27).

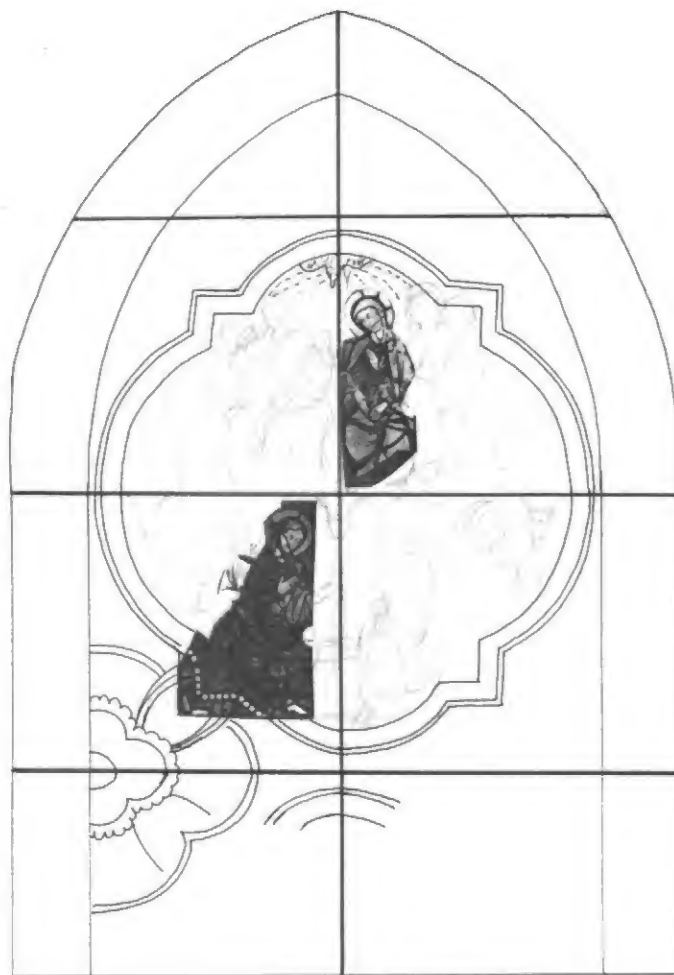
The construction of the choir at Tours Cathedral began about 1233–34, and the ambulatory chapels were probably completed well before 1248, when, it is assumed, work was interrupted due to a drain on the chapter's revenues, paid out to finance the king's Crusade (see 24/fig. 1).¹ Initial efforts to glaze the chapels may have been broken off as well. As originally devised, the iconographic program of the Tours ambulatory chapel glazing must have emphasized the Redemption, as exemplified in the *New Alliance* window, and the continuation of Christ's ministry, as represented by the apostolic histories. These early windows are related to the glazing of the Lady Chapel at the Cathedral of Saint-Julien at Le Mans and have been dated by Louis Grodecki to about 1245.² Whether additional windows were completed in this short first phase of glazing is unknown.³ Papanicolaou hypothesizes that between 1245 and 1248 a new atelier from Paris, the Crown of Thorns workshop, was introduced, as were new iconographic models.⁴

The original location of the *Pentecost* scene would probably have been in one of the ambulatory chapel windows, though its precise context is uncertain. It could have come from a window devoted to the Acts of the Apostles, placed as an introduction to the apostolic histories now in the northeast chapel. Or, if it were from a window depicting Christological scenes, the Appearances of Christ after the Crucifixion or the Later Life of the Virgin, it may have come from one of the lateral windows framing the *New Alliance* window in the axial chapel, which would have been dedicated to the Virgin. A third bay in the axial chapel may have contained a *Last Judgment* window,

which at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges is a pendant to the *New Alliance* window. At Tours fragments of a Judgment window remain in the northeast chapel windows.⁵

The *New Alliance* window at Tours is heavily restored, and until it is published the possibility that the windows containing the *Pentecost* and *Last Judgment* scenes that originally framed it must remain conjectural. The hypothesis that they did so, however, has ramifications for the chronological and stylistic arguments advanced by both Grodecki and Papanicolaou and would imply that the side windows in the axial chapel, being not only later in date than the central *New Alliance* window but also by a different shop, remained without glass in the first phase of glazing. One should, perhaps, not postulate two distinct phases of glazing for what might have been no more than the introduction of a new atelier and Parisian models into a glazing campaign still in its early stages (for further discussion of the Crown of Thorns shop, see Nos. 24 and 25).

Composition: The appearance of the Christological window can be deduced from the segment of the framing



26/1. Hypothetical organization of elements from Nos. 26 and 27 within a medallion depicting the *Pentecost*, Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien (reconstruction: author)



26/2. Detail, head of Apostle

band with the attached pearled and foliate ornament on the Seated Apostle panel (No. 26). The lancet would have been composed of five and a half large darted quatrefoils that could in turn have been divided into quadrants to accommodate multiple scenes where necessary (26/1). Corner bosses of half quatrefoils extended foliate fronds into the frames. The field, though of minimal size, was probably filled with a decorative mosaic, which is no longer visible in either panel. This type of framing composition and division of scenes was employed in the Court Style glazing program of the nave at the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Soissons, where a building completed c.1230 did not receive its windows until c.1255.⁶ At Soissons, as is believed to have been the case at Tours, the broad single lancets common to buildings of the first third of the thirteenth century were adapted by the glaziers to new forms of glazing.⁷ As postulated by Grodecki, a location in the aisle windows for this "huge" program at Soissons, not installed by c.1230 when the architecture was finished but rather after a pause in the work, seems logical for the small-scale, narrative cycle.⁸ Likewise, the adaptation of broad, single-light bays to mid-century Parisian narrative glazing programs seems to have been the mode in the ambulatory at Tours.

Technique, style, and date: Like the Crown of Thorns panels, the technique of the *Pentecost* fragments consists of a supple trace line varying from hair thin to a stroke almost an eighth of an inch wide (26/2). For the most part, one medium mat tone was used for shading with a feathered edge of thin strokes to blend with light areas. There was no use of the stylus, and a lighter mat was employed only on the faces. Papanicolaou has defined these fragments as the work of the Crown of Thorns atelier, and the glass itself bears out her opinion.⁹

This is a restrained and elegant style. The interest in narrative, the active and expressive figures, the intense and simple color, and the flat-fold style are all characteristics of Parisian art of the 1240s. The oeuvre of this atelier is not of local derivation. This is a shop imported from the capital, and these fragments from the *Pentecost* are certainly the work of its master artist. The exquisite and subtle drawing of the original head in the Seated Apostle panel (No. 26), when compared with that of the heads in the Crown of Thorns panels, tells the story. To a lesser painter copying the style, the lower lid of the eye would seem almost flat, with a pouch fold below, yet who but a master could so shape the lower lids of the Virgin's eyes as to make them appear to turn in a receding plane in space (27/1). The plane of the chin as it turns under to join the neck in the face of the Virgin (No. 27) is another example of the artist's superb understanding of what form does in space: the Virgin's face is perfectly aligned, while that of King Louis (No. 24) is distorted. The same mastery of form can be seen in the manner in which the drapery is designed.



27/1. Detail, head of the Virgin

Photographic references: The panels, along with Nos. 24 and 25, had been photographed as Ektachromes complete with borders and canopies, and these Ektachromes were copied in black and white for purchase purposes by the Museum, negatives MM62106 and MM62107. The Ektachromes were the property of the dealers Brimo and Lion, Paris. Record 3 × 4 negatives were made in December 1937 when the four panels were accessioned, negatives 113358 and 113355. A new Ektachrome was made of No. 27 in December 1971, negative 196965, for publication in Hayward 1971–72, p. 115. The glass was rephotographed in January 1973 when it was reinstalled in the Early Gothic Hall at The Cloisters, negative 198832.

Bibliography: *BMA* 1937, p. 44, lists the glass as the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.; Rorimer 1938a, p. 12, announces the acquisition of the glass for The Cloisters; Rorimer 1963, p. 56, describes the glass and gives the dealer's provenance as a church in Troyes; Papanicolaou 1979, pp. 151–55, pl. 27, relates these panels to the choir glazing at Tours; Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 53–56, figs. 3 and 4, attributes these panels to the Crown of Thorns atelier and to Tours; Sturm 1982, pp. 2–3, ill. 1, publishes the Apostle panel (No. 26) in color; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 99, gives basic information and bibliography.

26. Two Seated Apostles from a Pentecost Scene

Rectangular panel: 57.1 × 34 cm (22½ × 13⅜ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1937 (37.173.5)

Ill. nos. 26, 26/a, 26/1 and 2, 26/figs. 1 and 2

Description: The apostle on the right is dressed in a green robe and a brilliant red mantle. His flesh is pale tannish white and his halo is bright gold verging on orange. His companion on the left wears a warm white robe and a medium blue mantle. The background is a deep, intense blue with a violet cast. The ornament in the lower-left corner repeats the warm white, brilliant red, and medium blue of the apostles' clothing. A ciborium of red, white, olive green, and amber has been stopped into the left edge of the panel.

Inscription: NA in Gothic capitals at the top of the altar. The inscription, along with the ciborium and the surrounding violet blue background, are all stopgaps of old glass to which surface patination on the front has been added.

Condition: The panel is in generally good condition, with very fine pits marking the interior surface of the glass. This surface pitting is most evident on the green, red, and yellow glass, less pervasive on the flesh color and white glass. The blue background shows pitting. This corrosion

pattern matches that noted for the same colors in the previous panels (Nos. 24 and 25). The upper-left corner of the panel has been completed by stopgaps of old glass.

Composition: The panel of the *Pentecost*, as reconstructed here, is traditional for the type. The frame, as indicated by the scene that includes two of the Apostles, is a common shape for the period, having been employed at approximately the same time at Soissons.¹⁰ Barbed quatrefoils enclosing single scenes are also found in the window depicting the Book of Kings at the Sainte-Chapelle and in the *Life of the Virgin* window installed about 1250 at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Pierre at Saint-Julien-du-Sault.¹¹ Pearled fillets, though used less frequently by the mid-thirteenth century, were still put into service at the Sainte-Chapelle in the borders of the Esther and Kings windows and at the Abbey Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés in the St. Vincent window.¹² The *Pentecost* scene itself, as reconstructed here, is again of the most usual type in that it appears to group the Apostles and the Virgin together to receive the Holy Spirit. Here the only departure from tradition occurs in the placement of the figures on two levels, as in many earlier examples of the subject.¹³ A more contemporary *Pentecost* type, at c.1235–40 dating within a decade of the Museum's panels, appears in the Lady Chapel at Le Mans Cathedral.¹⁴



26/fig. 1. Apostles from a Scene of *Pentecost*, from a *Passion* window. France, Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, 1242–48

26. Two Seated Apostles from a Scene of *Pentecost*. France, Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien, 1245–48

26/a. Restoration chart



Iconography: Until the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the *Pentecost* was a scene rarely depicted in stained glass. Instead, the preferred choice for concluding the Passion or Appearances cycles was the *Ascension* or, in some cases, the *Last Judgment*.¹⁵ With the introduction of vast narrative cycles of stained glass, as at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Auxerre,¹⁶ the representation of the *Pentecost* became more frequent. In Byzantine iconography the Virgin was rarely included in the *Pentecost*, and she does not appear in the scene at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres.¹⁷ Approximately ten years later than the window at Chartres, however, in the Lady Chapel at Le

Mans Cathedral, where no fewer than seventeen windows were devoted to the lives of Christ and his Mother, the *Pentecost* scene appropriately included the Virgin;¹⁸ Grodecki has dated the glass of the Lady Chapel to c. 1235.¹⁹

The *Pentecost* scenes at the Sainte-Chapelle include the Virgin, and it is this iconography that the Cloisters panel most closely resembles.²⁰ At the Sainte-Chapelle the *Pentecost* occupies the four quadrant-shaped panels at the top of the double-light Passion window. The Apostles and the Virgin are divided into four groups of three persons each (26/figs. 1 and 2), with each group placed in a separate compartment. The figures are seated so that the third



26/fig. 2. The Virgin and Two Apostles from a Scene of *Pentecost*, from a *Passion* window. France, Paris, Sainte-Chapelle, 1242–48

person is shown only by his halo. Each group faces toward the center of the lancet. A few of the Apostles raise their hands in speaking gestures while some (but never the foremost) figures hold books.²¹ The rays of fire sometimes appear in the top of the compartment above the dividing iron and do not always connect with the halo (26/fig. 2). In poses, drapery style, figure types, and composition the Sainte-Chapelle *Pentecost* is also closest to the Museum's panels.

Images showing the Apostles divided into groups of three have had a long tradition in Western art, going as far back as the ninth century.²² Most of these examples place the groups on various levels, as at the Sainte-Chapelle, rather than in a line.²³ The reconstruction of the Museum's fragments best agrees with a similarly varied arrangement, with the figures on two levels and St. Peter and the Virgin at the center of the upper tier, nearest the Holy Spirit. The head of another apostle, published by Papanicolaou, may be the only other surviving piece from this panel. It appears to be a work of the same artist.²⁴

Color: The color scheme of the *Pentecost* panel is extremely simple. All of the colors – the green, brilliant red, medium blue, tannish white, and above all the unusual amber yellow – are so like those of the preceding panels (24 and 25)

that they appear to have been made in the same pots. If these four panels were not made by the same workshop, they certainly must have been produced by ateliers working at the same site with a common source of supply. Only the background blue of the *Pentecost* scenes, more intense and with a violet cast, is not in the Crown of Thorns Relics window.

Photographic reference: Negative 198832.

27. The Virgin from a Pentecost Scene and the Figure of St. Martin

Rectangular panel: 56.8 × 34.3 cm (22 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1937 (37.173.20)

Ill. nos. 27, 27/a, 27/1, 27/fig. 1

Description: Seated under an arcade composed of dark red colonettes with yellow capitals and bases, green abaci, and white arches, the Virgin raises her hand in a gesture of acceptance. She is dressed in a green robe with a golden, orange yellow mantle. Pale tannish white glass has been used for both her wimple and face as well as her hands. On the left a tonsured monk holding a book raises his left hand in a speaking gesture. He wears a habit of white with a murrey coweiled cloak with arm slits. His face, hands, and feet are pinkish tan. At lower left and right there are curved diagonal red fillets and blue glass; at lower left the blue glass shows foliate leaves similar to those in the ornament of the Seated Apostles panel (No. 26).

Condition: The panel appears to have been pieced together from two different scenes. The figure of the Virgin is intact except for her feet, cut off by the addition of red and blue ornament in the lower corners, original to the *Pentecost* window but displaced. Three pieces of original background on the left and next to the colonette are all that remain of her setting. Parts of the architecture are composed of old glass but from a different source. The monk whose figure is intact is adjacent to another monk whose arm, clad in white, can be seen at the left edge of the panel. The background surrounding the monk is modern.

Iconography: For a discussion of the iconography of the Virgin in this panel, see No. 26. A suggestion for the identification of the monk is provided by one of the most commonly represented scenes from the *Life of St. Martin of Tours* (d.397); remains of a St. Martin window have already been attributed to the Crown of Thorns atelier by Papanicolaou.²⁵ This panel may have been part of the so-called *Miracle of the Pine Tree*, a story recorded in *The Golden Legend*, which cites the *Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus*, the earliest *Life of St. Martin*.²⁶ It concerns a pine tree

dedicated to the Devil, which stood near a pagan temple. The saint demolished the temple and was about to cut down the tree when the pagan people of that place challenged St. Martin to a test of his god. They would cut down the tree and let it fall upon him to see if Martin's god was all powerful, as he said, and could protect him from harm. Martin agreed, and, when the tree began to fall, he made the sign of the cross, whereupon the tree fell in the other direction and almost crushed the pagans.

The incident is reported to have taken place after Martin was made bishop of Tours, consequently most depictions show Martin in bishop's vestments.²⁷ The scene in the St.

Martin window at Auxerre Cathedral (27/fig. 1), however, shows Martin as a young, tonsured catechumen. There is no question as to the meaning of the scene at Auxerre; the saint raises his hand in benediction standing near the axman with his ax. The St. Martin window at Auxerre has been dated as early as 1247 and is the work of the Isaiah Master of the Sainte-Chapelle.²⁸ Except for the fact that Martin is portrayed as a mature man with a beard, the same scene at Chartres Cathedral is virtually a model for the one at Auxerre, just as the figure of St. Martin at Auxerre is almost a prototype for the figure in the Museum's panel. The Auxerre St. Martin wears a cloak with sleeve



27. The Virgin from a Scene of Pentecost and the Figure of St. Martin (?). France, Tours, Cathedral of Saint-Gatien, 1245-48

27/a. Restoration chart





27/fig. 1. *Miracle of the Pine Tree*, from a St. Martin window. Auxerre, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, c.1247

slits, has a tonsured head, and carries a book. He is accompanied by another tonsured figure. The only difference between the Auxerre and Tours figures is in the hand gestures: at Auxerre the hand is raised in benediction and in the Museum's panel from Tours the hand signals acceptance. It would appear that there were two coexistent traditions for the *Miracle of the Pine Tree*, one based on Chartres, showing Martin as a monk, which this panel follows, and another, depicting Martin as a bishop, which would be followed in the later clerestory window at Tours.

Color, style, and date: A comparison of the St. Martin fragment in this panel to the other glass in the Crown of Thorns group is striking. Although the cloak worn by St. Martin is a clear medium murrey, in contrast to the almost salmon murrey tunic worn by the kneeling man in the *Archbishop Gauthier Cornut displaying the Crown of Thorns* panel (No. 25), and the flesh color of the saint has more of a pink tone here than in the other panels, the red glass of the saint's halo and the white of Martin's robe, as well as the slightly brown mat, appear to be exactly the same as those in the Crown of Thorns scenes. Yet the most telling similarity to these other panels is in style. The peculiarities of drawing in the features, such as the arch of the brow, the steep arc of the upper lid combined with the almost straight lower lid and the pouch fold below, the small pouting lower lip, and the rounded ear are all features noted in Archbishop Gauthier Cornut's head; St. Martin's chin line appears softer than that of the archbishop solely because of his beard. The manner in which the mat is washed around

the eye and back under the chin is the same in both figures, as are the looped folds and hooks of the drapery. There is little doubt that this St. Martin is a work of the Crown of Thorns atelier, responsible for the Crown of Thorns Relics panels; it is also likely that this fragment is part of another scene that should be added to the five St. Martin panels from the Tours Cathedral choir, which have also been attributed to this workshop.²⁹ The date 1245 to 1248 previously suggested for the glass of the Crown of Thorns atelier (see 24 and 25) would be stylistically acceptable for this figure of St. Martin.

Photographic reference: Negative 198832.

NOTES

1. Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 62–63.
2. Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, pp. 156–57, and Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 133.
3. On the history of the cathedral at the time and the activities of the glaziers of this campaign, see Papanicolaou in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 60–69.
4. Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 53–66, esp. pp. 54–59.
5. Ibid., figs. 5–8.
6. On the dating of the Soissons nave, see Barnes 1967, p. 182.
7. The Court Style windows at Soissons have been discussed by several authors. See Barnes 1971, pp. 459–60, who believes that these windows came from the western part of the nave clerestory; Caviness and Raguin 1981, pp. 191–98, agree with the clerestory location; Ancien 1980, vol. 1, pp. 145–53 and frontispiece, discusses the composition of the windows.
8. See Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 108. Grodecki suggested that the cycle of Old Testament subjects was vast and that it was made for the aisle windows.
9. Papanicolaou 1980, pp. 54–62.
10. See Ancien 1980, vol. 1, frontispiece.
11. For the Sainte-Chapelle, see Grodecki in CV France I, pls. 77–82, and for the Collegiate Church of Saint-Pierre at Saint-Julien-du-Sault, see Raguin 1982, fig. 103.
12. See Grodecki in CV France I, pls. 71–82, and Verdier 1962–63, pp. 39–99 and figs. 3, 4, and 7.
13. See n. 21 below as well as a Pericopes from Salisbury, c.1030, and the Psalter of Hermann of Thuringia, 1211–13. The biblical precedent for the multilevel setting is given in Acts 1:8 and 13–14, where Jesus foretells the Pentecost before his Ascension and the Apostles are gathered together with Mary in an upper room. Pentecost itself is described in Acts 2:1–4 without a setting. Most early scenes, therefore, assume the house setting of the previous chapter to have been the same. See Kirschbaum and Braunfels 1968–76, vol. 3, cols. 416–21.
14. See Brisac in Mussat et al. 1981, pp. 107 and 109–112, who states that the *Pentecost* scene is original, though the rest of the window is a nineteenth-century restoration.
15. Exceptions are the twelfth-century windows at the Church of Notre-Dame at Le-Champ-près-Froges, not far from Grenoble, and at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Clermont-Ferrand. See Grodecki in *Festschrift Hans Hanloser* 1961, pp. 289–98, and Brisac 1973, pp. 204–11; for the Champs Pentecost, see CV France, *Recensement* III, pp. 263–64. The scene is represented at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres only once, in the axial bay of the ambulatory central chapel in the window devoted to the Apostles, where it occupies one of the side compartments of the cluster medallion; see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, text vol., pp. 296–301, no. 34. It is not included at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges or at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Rouen.

16. Raguin 1982, p. 135. In a sense this subject matter goes back to the Byzantine-inspired window at the Church of Notre-Dame at Le-Champ-près-Froges, but the iconography is different; see CV France, *Recensement* III, pp. 263–64. This window of three scenes shows only the *Pentecost* and the *Ascension*; the Virgin is not present.
17. The window at Chartres has been dated 1210–25. For a summary of the iconography of this window at Chartres, see CV France, *Recensement* II, p. 27.
18. Most of the glass in this window (bay 2; see CV France, *Recensement* II, p. 242) is modern, but the scene of *Pentecost* is original; see Brisac in Mussat et al. 1981, p. 111.
19. Grodecki 1961a, pp. 77–81.
20. See Grodecki in CV France I, p. 205 and pls. 49–51.
21. Though the books held by Apostles are common attributes in *Pentecost* scenes, they are not always included. The Sainte-Chapelle is an example of what may have been an indication toward a new iconography by the middle of the twelfth century and the omission of these attributes. English examples of the eleventh to the twelfth century frequently omit books, and English influence on the west of France throughout the twelfth century was considerable; for examples, see Schiller 1966–80, vol. 4, pt. 1, pls. 30–34. Schiller further confirms (p. 24) that never do all the Apostles hold books.
22. The earliest example may be the *Pentecost* scene in the San Paolo Bible, dated 870–75; see Schiller 1966–80, vol. 4, pt. 1, pl. 17. Other examples include the Pericopes of Heinrich II, 1007–12 (ibid., pl. 18), and of Reichenau, 1020–40 (ibid., pl. 19); the Abdinghof Gospels, c.1000 (ibid., pl. 35), and the Prüm Gospels, second quarter of the eleventh century (ibid., pl. 36), as well as the Prüm Antiphony, c.1000 (ibid., pl. 37).
23. See nn. 13 and 21 above.
24. Papanicolaou 1980, p. 59 and fig. 13.
25. Ibid., p. 59 and figs. 9–11. Before World War II these scenes, together with two more, were set as stopgaps in lancets below the south rose at Tours. The panels are represented in their former positions in the central lancets under the south transept rose in the photomontage in the library of the Direction de l'Architecture of the Monuments Historiques, Paris; they were not mounted again after the war. For the life of St. Martin of Tours, see Sulpicius Severus 1949; Gregory of Tours 1949, pp. 24–60; and Lecoy de la Marche 1890.
26. Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 2, pp. 292–300.
27. He is vested as a bishop in the scene at the former Abbey of Gercy, see Grodecki and Brisac 1984, fig. 79; at the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice at Angers, see Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pls. 24 and 25; and at Tours, see Papanicolaou 1979, pp. 47–52 and pl. 40. He is shown as a mature man but not wearing vestments at Chartres, see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 1, pl. LIX.
28. See Raguin 1977, p. 490.
29. See Papanicolaou 1980, figs. 9–11.

28–40. SCENES FROM TWO WINDOWS, INCLUDING A LEGEND OF ST. VINCENT OF SPAIN AND A LEGEND OF ST. GERMAIN OF PARIS

France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel

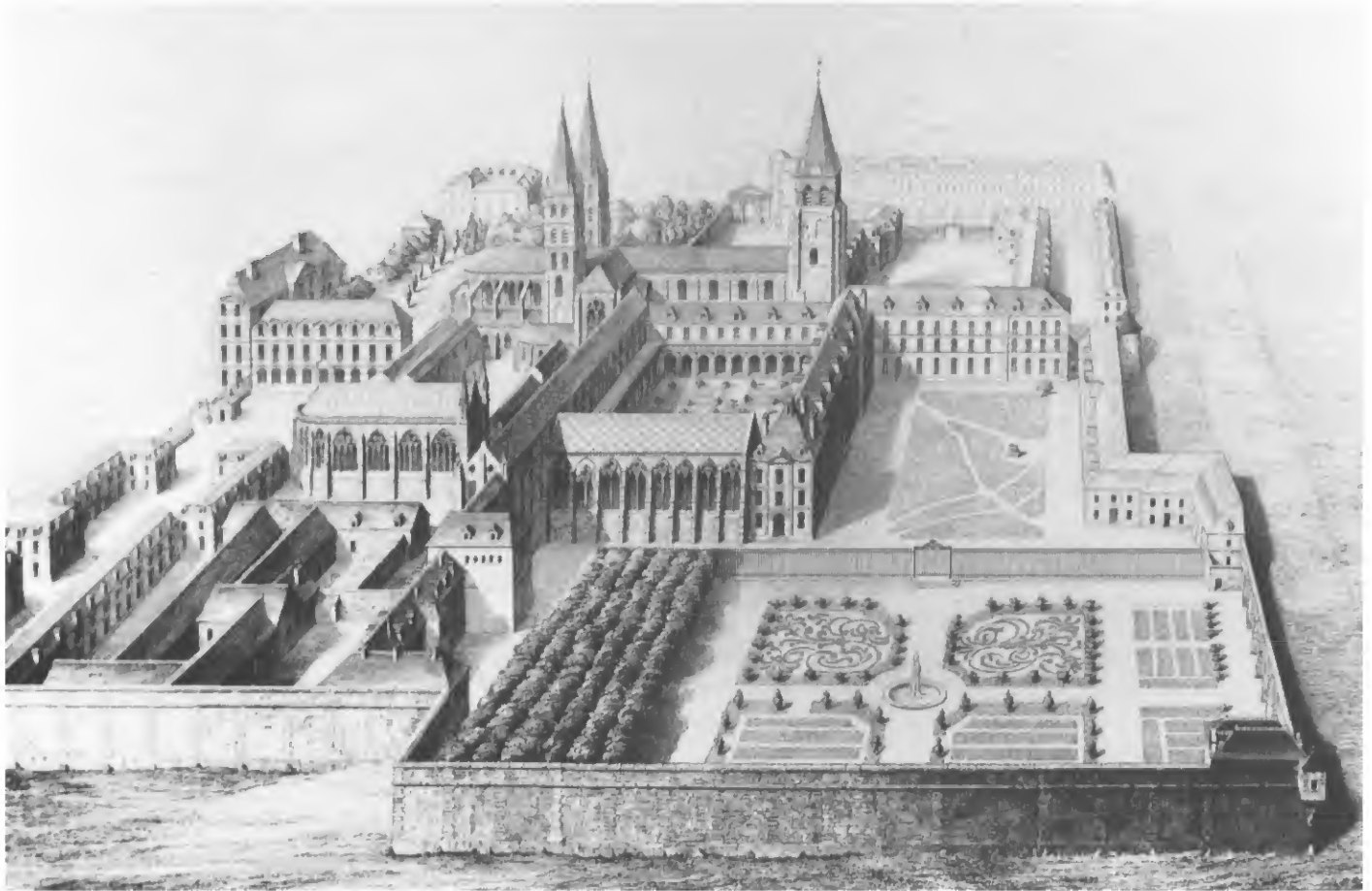
c.1245–47

Related material: *Legend of St. Vincent of Spain and the History of His Relics*: Great Britain, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, *St. Vincent burned on the Grill* (8–1881); Wilton (Wiltshire), Parish Church of St. Mary and St. Nicholas, two panels with St. Vincent and an Angel; United States, Maryland, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, nine panels from the *Legend of St. Vincent* (46.65). *Legend of St. Germain of Paris and the History of His Relics*: France, Champs-sur-Marne (Seine-et-Marne), Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, three panels with four censing angels; Paris, Parish Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Chapel of Sainte-Geneviève, *Germain and Stratide leave School* and *Germain's Mother attempts a Miscarriage*; Saint-Denis (Seine-Saint-Denis), Basilica of Saint-Denis, Chapel of Saint-Fermin, three partial panels including a figure of Saint-Droctove, partial scene of the *Levitation of St. Germain's Reliquary*, and a noble woman; Great Britain, [Glasgow (Strathclyde), The Burrell Collection, two panels with sainted monk and an abbot/bishop saint (45.365)]; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, *Childebert receives St. Germain* (5461–1858); [Staindrop (Durham), Raby

Castle chapel, standing monk]; Winchester (Hampshire), Winchester College, *Censing Angels* and *Death of St. Germain*; United States, New York, Manhasset, Christ Church, *Destruction of the Idols*.

History of the glass: In 1227, under Abbot Eudes (r. 1224–35), a program to rebuild the abbey's cloisteral compound, which had fallen into disrepair, was begun at Saint-Germain-des-Prés (28–38/fig. 1). Work continued during the abbacy of Simon (r. 1235–44), who employed the Parisian architect Pierre de Montreuil to build a new refectory starting in 1239. The structure was completed just before Simon's death on 31 May 1244. Immediately after or by 1245 the same architect began construction on the Lady Chapel, a detached building. Enough of the chapel's apse was finished by 1247 to be the site for the burial of Abbot Hugues d'Issy (r. 1244–47).¹ The Lady Chapel at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, therefore, followed rather than preceded the Sainte-Chapelle, now generally conceded to have been started c.1241.²

The glass of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Lady Chapel, when compared with that of the Sainte-Chapelle, as Branner observed regarding the architecture of the two buildings, "is distinct and opposed."³ From eighteenth-century descriptions we know that the Lady Chapel had an apse of seven double bays, each of which contained windows of colored, historiated glass, flanked by eight side bays of four lancets each filled with grisaille, and a rose window above the portal that was glazed in color.⁴ The refectory, according to the same eyewitness accounts of



28–38/fig. 1. Engraving showing a view of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (from Lenoir 1867, vol. 1, pl. XII)

the period, was glazed with grisaille glass and consequently could not have been the source of the Museum's colored panels.⁵

As stated by Pierre Bonfons, who recorded the inscription above the chapel door that noted the contributions of Hugues d'Issy and Thomas de Mauleon, both of whom were buried in the choir of the Lady Chapel, the chapel was begun in 1245. It must have been completed, so far as the choir was concerned, by 1247, for Hugues's interment, and it was certainly finished in all its parts by 1255 at the latest, when the Chapter met in the building to elect a successor to Thomas.⁶ The historiated windows relating to the *Legend of St. Vincent and the History of His Relics* and to the *Legend of St. Germain and the History of His Relics* can thus be dated between 1245 and about 1247.

From its foundation until 1791, the Lady Chapel served the needs of its Benedictine community. On 4 February of that year, however, the Revolutionary Government claimed that the abbey church was needed for parish service; according to Réau, under the pretense of making the structure suitable to the needs of the congregation, its Merovingian tombs were vandalized.⁷ A year later, in February 1792, the church was closed and transformed into a refinery for the making of saltpeter, which opened on 12 February

1794. Meanwhile, in November 1792 the abbey buildings were leased at auction. In 1795 the Lady Chapel was rented out to serve as the parish church. As such, it survived the Revolution, although in August 1794 an explosion in the refectory, then being used for the storage of gun powder, must have broken windows in the chapel. The refectory, severely damaged, was ordered to be demolished six months later, but the Lady Chapel continued to serve the parish until 1802, when it was razed. Thus arise the first puzzling questions in the history of the glass: when was it removed from the chapel, and where did it go?

Albert Lenoir (1801–1891), son of Alexandre Lenoir (founder of the Musée des monumens français), published his *Statistique monumentale de Paris* in 1867. In it he illustrated stained glass from Saint-Germain-des-Prés (28–38/1), including the Museum's panels from the St. Vincent window. Describing the glass, Albert Lenoir stated that the windows from Saint-Germain-des-Prés were "nearly all destroyed in 1793" but that "some remains had been gathered at the Musée des monumens français, through the care of Alexandre Lenoir, who, besides, had received on the 5 frimaire an V (25 November 1796), eight panels from abbé Roussineau, curé of Saint-Germain-des-Prés."⁸ This date corresponds with the only

notice made by Alexandre Lenoir in the journal he kept during this period that specifically mentions stained glass from Saint-Germain-des-Prés.⁹ Albert Lenoir's account raises more questions than it answers. Does the destruction of the windows in 1793 refer to the explosion and fire that occurred in 1794, or were windows in the abbey buildings destroyed in 1793 at the same time that the portal sculpture was mutilated?¹⁰ There is, however, no mention in the documents of any damage to the Lady Chapel then serving as the parish church. Albert Lenoir states also that the glass received from abbé Roussineau was in addition to that reassembled in the museum. This would suggest that Alexandre Lenoir was already in possession of stained glass from Saint-Germain-des-Prés, unrecorded in his journal, before the eight panels received on 25 November 1796.

Both artist and antiquarian, Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839) was a pupil of the painter Gabriel-François Doyen (1726–1806), and, through his master's influence, was appointed guardian of a depot for works of art displaced in

the Revolution, established in Paris at the former convent of the Petits-Augustins on 3 June 1791.¹¹ Under the direction of the municipality of Paris, the depot served both as a warehouse and as a place for sorting objects to be sold from those to be stored for future use in a national museum. Four years later, on 21 October 1795, the depot officially became the Musée des monumens français, supervised by the Committee of Public Instruction. The following April Alexandre Lenoir was made its director.¹²

By the end of 1796 reconstruction work had begun on the original sacristy of the chapel at the Petits-Augustins, which would become the Thirteenth-Century Gallery of the Musée des monumens français.¹³ Even though the installation does not seem to have begun before 1797, Lenoir's museum opened to the public that same year and contained glass from Saint-Germain-des-Prés.¹⁴ All the glass employed by Lenoir at the museum seems to have come from the *Life of St. Germain*, often called the "Historical" series, which filled the three rectangular windows of the gallery, with six panels accommodated in each lancet. Only the six panels that were installed in the window on the north wall are included in Albert Lenoir's 1867 plate (28–38/1).¹⁵

The Musée des monumens français closed 18 December 1816 by order of Louis XVIII. In compensation, Alexandre Lenoir was named Administrator of Monuments at the former Abbey of Saint-Denis.¹⁶ It was in character, therefore, for Lenoir to move as much of the unclaimed art from the defunct museum as possible to Saint-Denis. The list of objects sent to Saint-Denis comprised hundreds of items.¹⁷ Stained glass from the museum was either included in the shipments to Saint-Denis or supposedly sent back to the churches from which it originated.¹⁸ Among the glass shipped to the former abbey church were panels from the Saint-Germain-des-Prés St. Vincent series.¹⁹ The removals appear to have taken a long time; Lenoir notes in his journal on 22 July 1817 that glass previously in storage from Saint-Denis was returned to the abbey, and, on 23 October 1818, that the glass from the Fourteenth-Century Gallery was dismounted, packed, and sent to Saint-Denis.²⁰

At the time the glass was sent to Saint-Denis, the former abbey church was being restored following the ravages of the Revolution.²¹ Both the Napoleonic imperial family and the Restoration monarchy had declared the church to be the burial place for the members of their families. In fact, Louis XVIII closed the Musée des monumens français primarily because of his desire to return the royal tombs to Saint-Denis. By 1833 François Debret (1777–1850), architect in charge of the abbey, was ready to begin reglazing the choir chapels. Until that time the glass returned from the museum was kept in storage at the abbey. To fill the two bays (NIV and NV) of the second radiating chapel on the north side of the choir, rededicated to St. Vincent,

28–38/1. Colored engraving of Scenes from the Legend of St. Vincent of Spain from the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47 (from Lenoir 1867, vol. 1, pl. XXXII)



Debret elected to employ glass from Saint-Germain-des-Prés. Since these two windows were described by Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) in his visit to Saint-Denis in 1840, their subjects are easily identifiable.²² Guilhermy, on folio 84, began his description of bay NV by enumerating the subjects of the panels shown on the left side of Lenoir's plate (28–38/1).²³ He continued on folio 84v, beginning at the bottom of bay NIV with descriptions of two horsemen (Nos. 32 and 33); two soldiers receiving orders from a king seated on a throne (Nos. 28 and 29); a soldier leading a mitred bishop and a nimbed deacon to a king, seated under an arcade, who makes a gesture of command (Nos. 30 and 31); a bishop and a deacon in chains led by a ferocious guard armed with a mace (Nos. 34 and 35); a crenellated tower guarded by two soldiers and a third person, sword in hand, dressed in robe and mantle.²⁴ These first eight panels follow very closely, except for sequence, both those from the St. Vincent legend in the Museum's collection and those illustrated in the right column of Albert Lenoir's plate. This concordance leaves little doubt that the Metropolitan's glass was at the time installed in the choir of Saint-Denis. The panels now in the window's cusp appear to have been added from other panels in storage at Saint-Denis. The crenellated tower mentioned by Guilhermy may be the one now in panel No. 37, but the two guards have vanished, and the figure holding a sword may be represented by a panel in the collection of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.²⁵

The glass remained in the Chapel of St. Vincent until Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) became architect of Saint-Denis and began a new and extensive restoration of the abbey in 1847.²⁶ The ambulatory windows were the first to be reglazed, with original glass from the time of Abbot Suger placed in the three central chapels (bays NI to NIII and SI to SIII). By 1854 Viollet-le-Duc, looking to restore the ambulatory to its twelfth-century appearance, ordered Alfred Gèrente (1821–1868), his glazier, to make new windows for the Chapel of St. Vincent.²⁷ The panels from the Legend of St. Vincent were removed that year, and scenes from the *History of the Three Magi* and the *Massacre of the Innocents* by Alfred Gèrente were installed in their place.²⁸

What happened to the panels following this must be interpreted from Museum records. In 1921 Bashford Dean (1867–1928), Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum, was traveling in Europe and, as was his habit while in Paris, visited the shops of glass repairers in search of fragments that “illustrated the wearing of armor in early times.”²⁹ At the atelier of glazier Michel Acézat (1878–1944), 12 rue de l'Etoile, he was shown the St. Vincent window. Realizing that the glass was important, Dean borrowed two panels from the window to show to André Lion, at the time one of the most

competent specialists in the study of early stained glass. Lion's opinion confirmed that the panels were of the highest artistic importance and were well preserved. Dean next showed the panels to the restorer Chanussot, who acknowledged their extraordinary state of preservation. Once Dean persuaded armor collector and Metropolitan trustee George D. Pratt (1869–1935) of Glen Cove, New York, to purchase the glass for the Museum, Acézat sent the window to America. While taken apart for releading, the panels were examined by the glass painter Clement Heaton (1861–1940), who remarked on the patination that extended under the leads and identified the window as coming from Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

After the glass arrived at the Museum, Dean continued his investigation into its history. The determination of the subject of the window as St. Vincent and its association with Saint-Germain-des-Prés were made. An unidentified color lithograph that Acézat said he had bought, along with some other papers, from the estate of a glazier friend was recognized as showing the eight lower panels of the window and being of nineteenth-century origin (this was the Lenoir plate, 28–38/1). The most interesting evidence came from Acézat himself, who claimed to have purchased the glass about 1921, approximately three years before Dean first saw it, from a nearly ninety-year-old widow of an architect-contractor who had died over thirty years before. The glass had belonged to her son, who died unmarried about 1913; he had inherited it from his father, the architect-contractor, who in turn had got it directly from the church (or abbey) itself in payment (all or part) for work done.³⁰

At first Dean, upon discovering Albert Lenoir as the source of the nineteenth-century lithograph, believed the window to have come through Lenoir, whose death in 1891 corresponded to the demise of the “architect-contractor” suggested by Acézat.³¹ After Dean completed his report, however, Acézat revealed that he had in fact purchased the glass from the architect Auguste Leprévost.³² According to Parisian glazier Adolphe-Napoléon Didron (1806–1867) in the 1844 publication *Annales archéologiques*, Leprévost and Albert Lenoir had both participated, together with other authors, in the publication of a four-volume manual issued at that time by the Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments.³³ Dean then concluded that he had uncovered the last missing link in the complete history of the St. Vincent window: Albert Lenoir to Leprévost. Yet there is no evidence, however much Alexandre Lenoir may have handled the Saint-Germain-des-Prés glass, that his son Albert was part of the later history of the Museum's panels. It appears that the only direct connection between Albert Lenoir and the St. Vincent window was through the illustration plate in his *Statistique monumentale*.

Another chain of connections suggests a more likely avenue. The glass was presumably deinstalled at Saint-

Denis by Alfred G rente.³⁴ G rente and his elder brother Henri (1814–1849) are known to have removed stained glass from the former abbey church to their studio, and many of these pieces made their way into the art market.³⁵ But, Alfred G rente died in 1868 and thus could hardly conform to Ac zat’s architect-contractor who supposedly died about 1891. There was, however, another glazier working for Viollet-le-Duc at Saint-Denis. This was Eug ne Stanislas Oudinot (1827–1889), who remade the Griffin windows in the westernmost chapels of the ambulatory (bays NVI, NVII, SVI, and SVII).³⁶ Oudinot is known to have preserved pieces eliminated from his restorations, even to have given the Louvre a whole panel from the Vincennes Sainte-Chapelle that he had restored.³⁷ And, as it turns out, Lepr vost bought numerous pieces of stained glass at the Oudinot atelier sale. Madame Oudinot outlived her husband by many years, evidenced by the restoration information she provided to Fran ois de Fossa for his book *Le Ch teau de Vincennes*, published in Paris about 1908. Oudinot, rather than Albert Lenoir or Alfred G rente, seems the likely candidate for the architect-contractor who, following accepted practice of the time, took the discarded glass to his studio for restoration. Having added the top trefoil – made up from other fragments probably in storage at Saint-Denis – that currently appears with the Museum’s St. Vincent panels, Oudinot later gave the glass to his son,³⁸ which explains why the window was not among the atelier contents sold after Oudinot’s death. No doubt Madame Oudinot remembered Lepr vost’s previous eagerness to buy and offered it to him following her son’s death.

In contrast to the lengthy history of the St. Vincent panels, almost nothing is known about the past of the two panels from the *Life of St. Germain* now in The Cloisters Collection. They were identified on stylistic grounds by Grodecki in 1957 as belonging to the series he called the “Historical” or “Relics” window. At the time Grodecki noted the two panels, they were in a Parisian private collection. The Museum purchased the panels from Sibyll Kummer-Rothenh usler of Zurich after they had been exhibited in the Basel Antiques Fair in 1973.³⁹ She, in turn, had acquired them from the Parisian dealer Brimo de Laroussilhe, who owned them from 1958 to 1972.

Original location: In spite of what Alexandre Lenoir stated in the various editions to his catalogue regarding the provenance of the glass that he acquired for his museum, all the glass from Saint-Germain-des-Pr s that can be traced to the Mus e des monumens fran ais came from the Lady Chapel and not from the refectory.⁴⁰ Later attributions by Rorimer and Verdier of both the St. Vincent window and what they called the “Historical” or “Relics” window to the refectory are equally mistaken, as discussed above. The early accounts of Bouillart and Sauval, who saw and described the glass in situ, explain very clearly

that the only fully colored glass at the abbey was in the seven bays in the apse of the Lady Chapel.⁴¹ The arrangement of the subjects in the apsidal bays perhaps owes something to the similar plan adopted at the Sainte-Chapelle. The King’s chapel, begun probably in 1241 and consecrated in 1248, preceded by about four years the start of the Saint-Germain-des-Pr s Lady Chapel.⁴² Although pure conjecture, it is possible that the windows of the royal chapel were being installed by the time that the foundation stone was placed for the Lady Chapel. At the Sainte-Chapelle, the windows illustrating the *Life of Christ* in the axial bay are framed by two hagiographical windows dedicated to the lives of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.⁴³ Since at least three windows from Saint-Germain-des-Pr s can now be identified as pertaining to the lives of Christ and his mother, subjects that would normally be placed in the central bays of a choir, it is perhaps reasonable to presume that these windows would have occupied the central bays of the hemicycle in the Saint-Germain-des-Pr s Lady Chapel, with the two hagiographical subjects placed in double lancets at the outermost bays of the apse.⁴⁴ Were the chapel still extant, these would be the sixth and seventh windows to the north of the axial chapel and the sixth and seventh windows to the south of the axial chapel.

Iconographic program: Only the most recent study has been able to identify the significant part played in the iconographic program of the Lady Chapel by the St. Vincent window and the so-called “Historical” or “Relics” window. This reinterpretation of the iconographic program began with Mary Shepard’s identification of the subject of the “Historical” scenes, which had eluded both Grodecki and Verdier.⁴⁵ Shepard’s recognition of the panels at Winchester College as the *Death of St. Germain* led to her suggestion that the subject of the Museum’s window was the *Life of St. Germain of Paris and a History of His Relics*.⁴⁶ This hypothesis further permitted her to postulate that the St. Germain window would have served as an appropriate counterpart to the *Legend of St. Vincent and a History of His Relics*. Both of these saints had been titular saints of the abbey – the original consecration of which had been to St. Vincent, St. Stephen, and the Holy Cross.⁴⁷ St. Germain, while bishop of Paris, had persuaded the Merovingian ruler Childebert to found the abbey in 558 to receive the relic of St. Vincent’s tunic, which the king and his brother Clothar had brought back from Spain. In 1215 the future King Louis VIII donated part of St. Vincent’s jaw bone to the abbey. The windows illustrating the lives of these two saints were probably placed opposite each other in the first bays on the north and south sides of the Lady Chapel apse. The extensive number of panels remaining from these windows suggests that the legends filled two lancets in each bay. Scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin would have filled the other five bays,

and the west rose probably contained themes of the Apocalypse, including the remains of a *Wise and Foolish Virgin* series now at Saint-Denis, as Shepard suggests.⁴⁸

Composition: The composition of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés windows is characteristic of Parisian-style stained glass made during the decade of the 1240s. Examples that preceded the glazing of the Lady Chapel can still be seen at the Sainte-Chapelle, which received its windows between 1245 and 1248, and in the Theophilus window in the Virgin Chapel of the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais, completed by 1243, to cite a slightly earlier example.⁴⁹ Typically these Parisian windows were composed of large medallions, either oval or quatrefoil in shape, that were bisected vertically and horizontally by irons, thus creating space for two or four scenes. The Saint-Germain-des-Prés *Life of St. Germain* and *Legend of Saints Anne and Joachim* windows (now in London, the Victoria and Albert Museum; Montreal, Musée des Beaux-Arts; Paris, Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés) are examples of these two types. Occasionally a more complex arrangement was employed, such as the alternating square with opposed half-ovals of the Passion window at the Sainte-Chapelle or the alternating ovals and opposed half-ovals of the St. Vincent window at Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

The bisected circle as a field for scenes in historiated windows is among the oldest and most common arrangement known in stained glass.⁵⁰ But the increased height and narrowing of the bay in Rayonnant architecture that took place in Paris shortly before the middle of the thirteenth century resulted in a change in window design. The borders shrank to narrow strips decorated with simplified ornament sometimes composed of stiff sprigs of foliage growing from the inner edge of the border, which I have termed the "broccoli" stalk. In other cases the borders displayed royal heraldry that alternated the castle of Castile and the fleur-de-lys.⁵¹ The most reduced examples had borders of simple button rosettes widely spaced on a flat-color field. Within these narrow strips of ornament the bisected circle was squeezed into an elongated oval or ellipse, accommodating only two scenes, one above and the other below the horizontal center iron. Large, simply designed bosses, or *fermaillets*, of ornament joined the groups of scenes together. Backgrounds of the lancets were composed of lattice or trellis patterns of foliate mosaic that repeated the designs of earlier windows.⁵² The simplified compositions of this period helped to make the small-scale scenes in these windows legible, and the similar reduction of elements in settings and furnishings within the scenes aided the readability of the "histories" represented.

Bibliography: Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6121, fol. 84v, records the eight lower panels in the second radiating chapel on the north side

dedicated to St. Vincent, in the window on the right (bay NIV), at Saint-Denis; Lenoir 1867, vol. 1, pl. XXXII, publishes the eight lower panels as they were arranged when purchased by the Museum; The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, letter from Bashford Dean to Joseph Breck, 2 May 1924, informs Breck that purchase of the "romanesque glass" is in progress and that he hoped George D. Pratt would purchase it for the Museum; The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives, letter from George D. Pratt to Joseph Breck, 29 September 1924, after purchase of the stained glass (Nos. 28–38), suggests to Breck that the window be placed in the Armor Hall; *BMMMA* 1924, p. 297, announces the gift of George D. Pratt and states that the window is not yet on exhibition; Rorimer 1934, p. 51, announces transfer of the glass from the Department of Arms and Armor to the Department of Medieval Art and its installation; Rorimer 1948, pp. 199–204, indicates reinstallation of the glass in the Spanish chapel at the Museum and attributes the window to the refectory at Saint-Germain-des-Prés following Albert Lenoir; Rorimer and Forsyth 1954, p. 128, ill. 138, acknowledge it as the only glass from the medieval collection on view; Grodecki 1956, pp. 82–83, declares the glass to have come from the Lady Chapel and not the refectory and divides the glass into three series, one being the St. Vincent window with parts in New York and Baltimore; Grodecki 1957–58, pp. 33–37, accounts for panels known at that time, including the St. Vincent window in the Museum's collection, and analyzes their respective styles; Verdier 1957–58, pp. 69–87, recognizes the Museum's window as the one that Guilhermy saw at Saint-Denis and concludes that the St. Vincent series was a history of both the martyr and one of his relics; Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 149, provides a brief summary, calling this the first Parisian series of the mid-thirteenth century and distinguishes two different manners in the glass; *CV France I*, pp. 77, 91–94, 142, 159, 172, 185, 191, and 193, compares the ornament of the Sainte-Chapelle to that in the windows of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; Grodecki 1959, pp. 78–80; Verdier 1960, n.p., announces the restoration and special exhibition of the Walters panels; Verdier 1961, n.p., announces completion of the restoration, the reordering of panels, and the reinstallation of the Walters panels; Verdier 1962–63, pp. 39–99, publishes all remains of the glass and documents related to the windows known at that time and attributes the St. Vincent window to the refectory, dating it c.1244, thus before the Sainte-Chapelle; *WeltKunst* 1969, p. 509, ill. (No. 40); Lithopinion 1971, p. 28, ill. (No. 36); New York 1971, no. 10; Hayward 1971–72, p. 122; Beeson and Salinger 1972, p. 218, ill. 34; Sherrill 1972, pp. 432 and 439; Werner 1972, p. 164; Basel 1973, ill. opp. last page, reproduces the *Dream of the Monk* panel; Raguin 1974, p. 34, fig. 13; *MMA Annual Report* 1974, p. 48, notes purchase of Nos. 39 and 40; *MMA Notable*

Acquisitions 1975, p. 162, ill., gives provenance; CV France, *Études* I, pp. 48 and 56, pl. 212, gives an erroneous collections history (Parisian collector Charles Tollin to Arnold Seligmann to George D. Pratt); Grodecki 1977–78, pp. 11–13; Papanicolaou 1979, pp. 161–62 and 188, compares with Tours for stylistic sources; Hibbard 1980, pp. 158 and 169, figs. 298 and 326; Cothren 1980, pp. 139–41 and pl. 9, cites Parisian stylistic relationships; Hayward 1982, p. 14; Raguin 1982, pp. 46, 71, 74, and 171, fig. 23, places the glass within the artistic matrix of the mid-thirteenth century; *MMA Guide* 1983, p. 350, dates the St. Vincent window c.1245; Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pp. 92–96, reiterate Grodecki's earlier opinions; Brisac 1985, pp. 60 and 64, includes panels in a survey of stained glass; CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 100, publishes basic information and bibliography; Shepard 1986–87, pp. 115–23, attributes four panels at Winchester College as belonging to the *Life of St. Germain* series; Husband, Little, and Shepard 1987, p. 90; Shepard 1990 revises and updates the discussion of the stained glass installed in the Lady Chapel at Saint-Germain-des-Prés; Shepard 1992, pp. 282–301, gives the most detailed discussion to date of the St. Germain window; [Shepard 1998, pp. 258–65, argues for a window dedicated to the relics of St. Vincent; New York 1998–99, p. 137, incorrectly cites Nos. 28 and 29 as gifts of Mrs. George D. Pratt].

28–38. SCENES FROM THE LEGEND OF ST. VINCENT OF SARAGOSSA AND A HISTORY OF HIS RELICS

Rectangular and irregularly shaped panels:

overall 479.5 × 108 cm (188½ × 42½ in.)

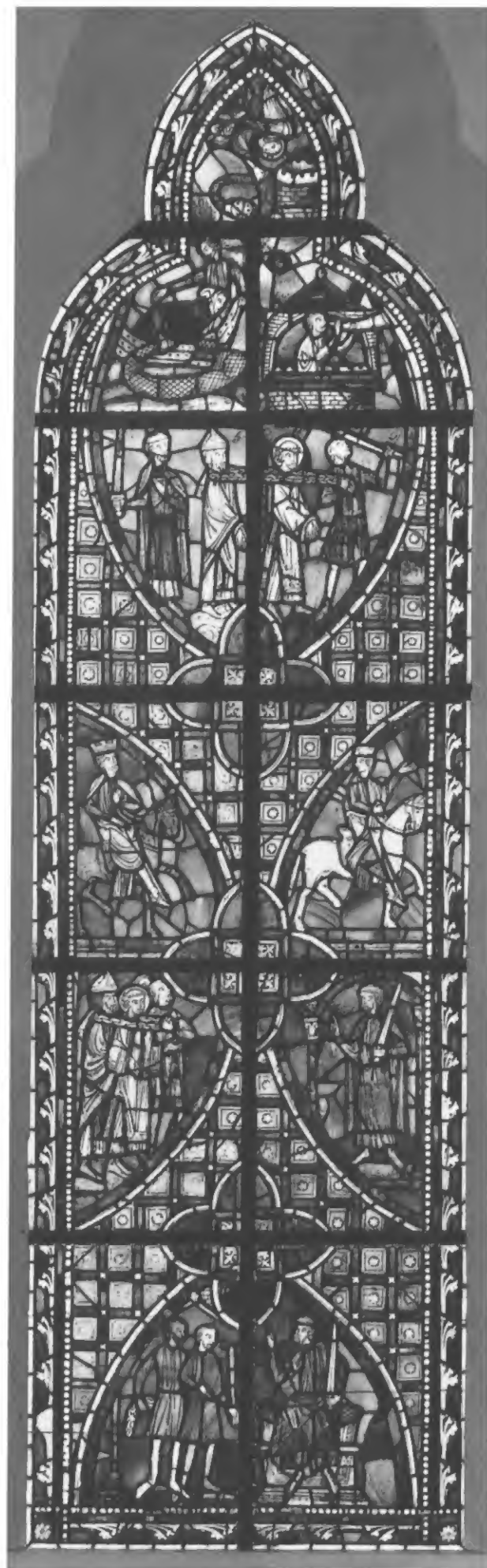
Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167a–k)

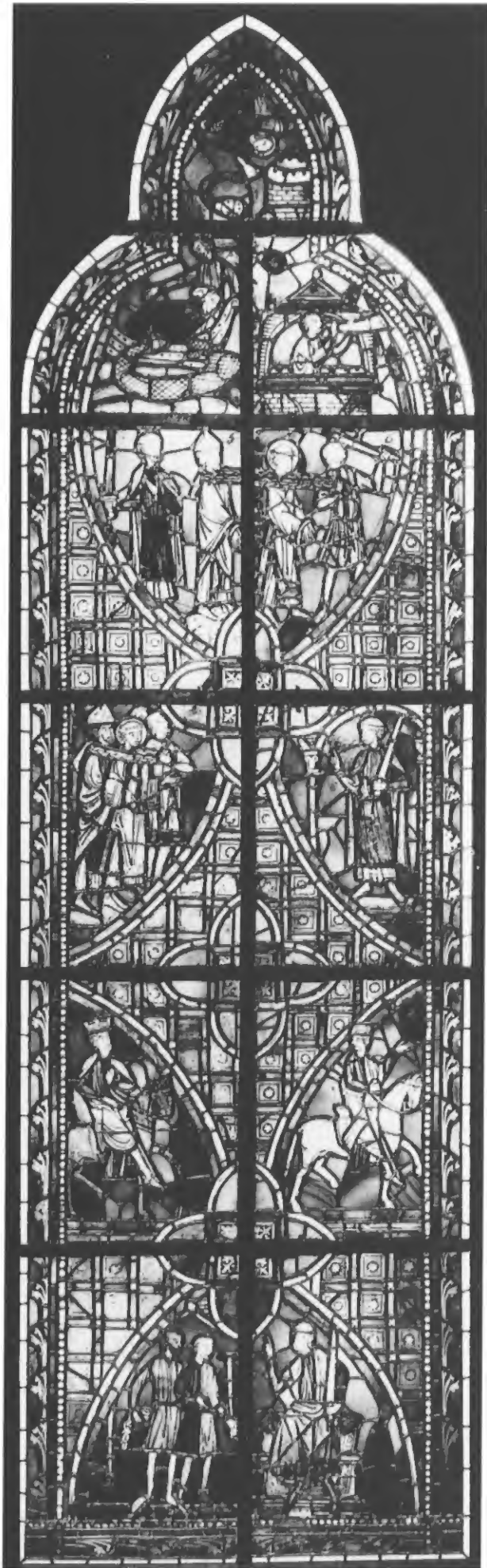
Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 28–38

Iconography: The legend of St. Vincent of Saragossa was one of the most popular of the hagiographical subjects represented in stained glass in the thirteenth century. It was included among the windows of the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice at Angers, the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges, and the cathedrals of Notre-Dame at Chartres and at Rouen as well as at the Church of Saint-Anne at Gassicourt, among others. The scenes of St. Vincent's martyrdom depicted in the Museum's window and the related scenes that are now at the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London follow closely traditional medieval accounts.⁵³

28–38. Scenes from the *Legend of St. Vincent of Spain*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245–47





Yet the St. Vincent cycle at Saint-Germain-des-Prés differs from other extant examples painted in the thirteenth century in that it included the translation of his relics as well as his life and martyrdom. Verdier has estimated that the double-light window containing the St. Vincent legend would have incorporated approximately thirty-eight scenes.⁵⁴ Based on the other earlier examples from the cathedrals at Chartres and Bourges, both of which are single lancets, the double lancets at Saint-Germain-des-Prés would have provided enough space to include a history of the saint's relics.⁵⁵

When Childebert, king of the Franks, and his brother Clothar went to Spain in 542, they returned from Saragossa with Vincent's stole (see further discussion in **History of the glass**, above). At the urging of Germain, then bishop of Paris, Childebert founded a monastery outside the walls of Paris to house the relics and dedicated it to St. Vincent and the Holy Cross.⁵⁶ After the canonization of St. Germain in 754, the abbey gradually became known as Saint-Germain-des-Prés, but a devotion to the original patronage of St. Vincent remained. In 1215 the abbey received part of St. Vincent's jaw bone, brought by the future King Louis VIII from the Monastery of Castres. It is thus understandable that among the windows of the Lady Chapel, built only thirty years later, there would be one depicting not only the historiated legend of the abbey's first patron saint but also the history of his relics. The extant panels representing the history of the relics are few; there are two portraying the horsemen Childebert and Clothar presumably on their way to Spain and possibly two more at the top of the window with architectural elements that may depict the city of Saragossa.

Composition and ornament: The photograph of the St. Vincent window seen in illustration 28–38/2 was taken when the glass entered the Museum. In this arrangement there is a half oval at the bottom, divided by a central iron. Above this are two quadrants, the framing fillets of which diverge from the center of the window. In the third register the opposite is true; the framing fillets converge toward the center at the tops of the panels. Above this is another half oval in reverse shape to that in the lowest register. The trefoil shape at the top of the lancet is composed of three scenes that fill the lobes. It appeared to Philippe Verdier, when he undertook the reconstruction and restoration of the part of the St. Vincent window now in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, that this awkward arrangement could not represent the original design of the window.⁵⁷ By transposing the second and third registers of the Métropolitan panels, however, Verdier arrived at an alternating arrangement of ovals, divided vertically and horizontally in quadrants, and vertical half ovals

divided laterally. This arrangement was adopted in 1969 for exhibiting the Metropolitan's glass (Nos. 28–38).

The lancet is surrounded on all sides by a narrow band of foliage arranged vertically along the inside edge of the border. Two fillets, one plain and the other of painted pearls, separate the border from the field of the window. The outside edge of the lancet has the usual breaking fillet. Exact duplicates of this border are found in five of the windows in the upper chamber of the Sainte-Chapelle, each one the work of the principal atelier.⁵⁸ These borders are all a later variant of the centralized leaf pattern in the Theophilus window of the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais.⁵⁹

The mosaic ground of the St. Vincent window, however, differs from the background of the Sainte-Chapelle windows and from other glass of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. It is composed of a vertical and horizontal trellis of strips bound at the intersections with white cords on a ground of grayish blue painted in a rosette design. In contrast, all of the windows at the Sainte-Chapelle, as well as the other two background patterns from the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Lady Chapel, are lattice designs of diagonal orientation.⁶⁰ The trelliswork of the St. Vincent window is found only in earlier examples from the first and second decades of the thirteenth century, and even within that defined period examples are not overly numerous.⁶¹ Verdier has already noted that the strapwork in the St. Vincent window was archaic in comparison to the diaperwork of the other two windows from the abbey.⁶² In its ornament, therefore, the window combines older types of design, as seen in the trellis background, with the latest Parisian border.

Technique: A combination of rapidly executed brush strokes and finely painted details constitutes the technique of this atelier. Motifs employed are traditional in character, from the rosette set off by a finely crosshatched background that forms the mosaic field of the window to the lozenge-shaped jewels that decorate Dacian's throne, or the quilted pattern of his cushion in the lowest scene of the window (No. 29). All of these representational techniques are to be found in earlier windows. In his ornamental technique the master of this atelier looks to the past for his sources, yet he was also not above imitating his peers. The border design was employed five times by the principal master of the Sainte-Chapelle. Though the ornamental vocabulary and method of representing these types lack originality, the figures painted by this master are very unusual. Drapery is painted in quick, slashing strokes of the brush with thick lines that end in thin fish-hooks. Trace lines not only outline features and folds in the figures but also represent shadowed areas, as seen below Dacian's cap and beneath his hair. This variation in the thickness of line allows a very sparing use of mat; in these panels a single medium tone of mat usually suffices to model form and is restricted to the figures. Mat is not employed in either the border or the background.

Style and date: To define the style of the St. Vincent master, one must first clarify the dating of the Lady Chapel (discussed above, **History of the glass**). The St. Vincent window, together with the other apse windows of the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Lady Chapel must have been installed early in 1247, the year Abbot Hugues d'Issy was buried there. Raised two steps above the paving level of the body of the chapel, the apse could have been walled off from construction temporarily and used as a mortuary chapel until the building was finished between 1250 and 1255.⁶³

The three authors who have discussed stylistic comparisons for the St. Vincent atelier have each suggested a different source. Grodecki has compared the master's work to that of the St. Martin window from the former Abbey of Gercy, c.1225–30, and the glass of the Church of Saint-Étienne at Brie-Comte-Robert, c.1225–35, seen as precursors of the Sainte-Chapelle. After noting in these comparisons the great figural elegance of this master, Grodecki turns about face and states that one sees in the work of this artist the result of the hardened Gothic style, epitomized by the Master of St. Chéron in the choir of Chartres Cathedral, c.1225. Verdier agrees with Grodecki's assessment of the conservative qualities of style in the master, who, to Grodecki, trained outside Paris. Verdier, too, points to Gercy. But because of his early dating for the St. Vincent Master, Verdier identifies this artist as the Esther Master of the Sainte-Chapelle. Cothren, writing on the glass of the cathedral at Beauvais, makes the St. Vincent Master the touchstone for his claim of a Parisian milieu (c.1245) for his Theophilus Master in the Beauvais Virgin Chapel.⁶⁴ Of course, not all these ideas can be right, but they nevertheless provide a richly textured fabric against which to see the origins of the St. Vincent Master.

Grodecki has said of the St. Vincent Master's work that "of the three series [then known from Saint-Germain-des-Prés], this is undoubtedly the most beautiful. The figures have elongated proportions; the heads are expressive, drawn with great freedom of stroke, and variety in the types; the gestures are eloquent and emphatic. The execution is bold, for the most part linear, and dispensing with the half-tones of grisaille. No other works of this atelier are known. In some respects, it seems old fashioned, as for instance, in the drawing of the hair, the heads turned full-face, and the style of the folds."⁶⁵ When the Lady Chapel at Saint-Germain-des-Prés was ready for glazing, the window makers of the Sainte-Chapelle were in full production. It has never been doubted that the king's glazier was Parisian, that he commanded a huge shop, and that he introduced a new style in stained glass, one of rapid execution capable of satisfying the enormous programs possible with the new Rayonnant style of architecture. This new glazing style spread literally over night – just how fast can be seen in the work of the St. Vincent Master. Five

times in the Sainte-Chapelle the master glazier employed the "broccoli" border that the St. Vincent Master immediately adopted. The large polylobed *fermaillet* applied as a clasp linking the individual panels of the St. Vincent series at Saint-Germain-des-Prés had been used in the Passion window of the Sainte-Chapelle, as had the compositional device of central and lateral alternation of compartments.

Certain affinities in figure style can be found between the Ezechial Master of the Sainte-Chapelle and the St. Vincent painter. Both employ a rapidly drawn, sketchy fold style composed of vertical pleats or fishhooks. Their figures are slender and elongated, with large feet that tend to hang limply from the ankle. The heads of the figures frequently jut out from the shoulders, and often the halo and the head are cut from the same piece of glass. Lines range from thick, overloaded strokes to hair lines, and both masters had trouble in firing their paint. The emphasis on these similarities, however, is not meant to imply that these two masters were one and the same. They were indeed two different hands. Rather, these comparisons serve to point out a common origin for both painters, who seem to have been trained in the same shop, in all probability based in Paris.

Condition: Several restorations can be documented in the Museum's St. Vincent window. The earliest recorded – though by no means the first – restoration took place in 1711. Inscribed with an engraving tool on the blue glass background of No. 28 is: *Robert Pruno Cossette, compagnon vitrier, an 1711* (Robert Pruno-Cossette, stained-glass artisan, year 1711). This notation refers to the extensive restoration of the abbey's windows that took place beginning in 1700, with the refectory glass.⁶⁶

Alexandre Lenoir employed a glazier named Dor up to the end of 1795 and occasionally later. By the time Lenoir was installing glass from Saint-Germain-des-Prés in his Musée des monumens français, a man called Tailleur worked for him on a regular basis repairing and setting glass. Tailleur may have repaired the St. Vincent window when it was stored in the museum and perhaps was responsible for the confused panel order.⁶⁷

When Guilhermy saw the window installed in the Chapel of St. Vincent at Saint-Denis in 1846, he recorded that the two horsemen panels were at the bottom of the window (now the third register).⁶⁸ Above them was the scene of the two soldiers receiving orders from a king seated on a throne (now the bottom register). Above it was a soldier leading a mitred bishop and a nimbed deacon to a king seated under an arcade, who makes a commanding gesture (now the second register). Guilhermy then described what has remained the fourth register of the window, a bishop and a deacon in chains led by a guard armed with a mace (his subsequent listings of scenes are lost).

When the Metropolitan Museum accepted the window in 1924, it was arranged as shown in 28–38/2. The lower

four registers match their appearance in the Lenoir illustration (28–38/1), but a top trilobe has been added (and, the head of the torturer at the right of the scene in the fourth register is a stopgap that must have been inserted in the same restoration). Both Oudinot and Leprévost were capable of filling out the top panels from original fragments left over from the Saint-Germain-des-Prés installation at Saint-Denis, pieces probably in storage. We may never definitively learn, however, which of the two men was responsible.

Before the window was purchased by Pratt in 1924 it was taken apart and releaded.⁶⁹ In 1979 it was repaired and re-ordered at the Greenland Studio in New York, where new saddle bars were made and the joints were soldered.

Photographic reference: When the window entered the Museum's collection in 1924 a photograph of the full window was made, negative 58401. Detail shots were taken of the top three panels, negative 58489; the two panels below the trilobe, Nos. 34 and 35, negative 58490; the next two panels, Nos. 30 and 31, negative 58491; the next two panels, Nos. 32 and 33, negative 58492; and the bottom two panels, Nos. 28 and 29, negative 58493. In 1934, when the window was transferred from the Department of Arms and Armor, the recipient of Mr. Pratt's gift, to the Department of Medieval Art, the two bottom panels were rephotographed, negative 137850, and details, No. 28, negative 137386, and No. 29, negative 137387, were made. For publication in Rorimer 1948, the window was photographed again, negative 140054, and a detail was made of the four central panels, Nos. 30, 31, 32, and 33, negative 140055. In 1965 a detail, negative 181394, was made of No. 33. An Ektachrome was made in 1971 of panel No. 30 for publication in Hayward 1971–72. New photography of the present arrangement of the glass was done in 1992, negative 255968, and individual photos were taken of the bottom two panels, negatives 137386 and 137387. The most recent photographs of these panels are negatives 265874–265884.

28. Two Guards appearing before Dacian

Rectangular panel: 76.5 × 54 cm (30 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167a)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 28, 28/a

Description and iconography: The two guards, holding a white chain and an amber yellow club, stand submissively before the Roman proconsul Dacian, governor of Spain under the emperor Diocletian. The man on the left is dressed in a knee-length, light brownish murrey tunic with white stockings. The other guard is more colorfully

28. *Two Guards appearing before Dacian.*
France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-
des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47

28/a. Restoration chart



dressed in a parti-colored tunic of brilliant streaky red and deep emerald green. His hose are amber yellow. The background is an intense, deep cobalt blue. The only hint at setting is furnished by the brownish murrey brickwork of the pavement, a slender red colonette with emerald base at the left, and an amber yellow rib and medium sapphire blue vault above to suggest interior architecture. Brilliant red and white fillets frame the scene; these colors are repeated in part of the quadrilobed boss visible in the upper-right corner, the center of which is sapphire blue edged in amber. The field of the panel, as throughout the window, is composed of painted squares of medium sapphire blue edged in a red trellis bound together by white

corde. The pearled fillet of the border is white, and the edging itself is composed of sapphire blue foliage on a red ground and a white edge fillet.

Condition: The glass is in remarkably good condition and shows few signs of corrosion. Those colors particularly susceptible to flaking of the paint are the sapphire blue, with rubbed areas especially noticeable in the background and the original pieces of the border; the red in the guard's tunic, which has lost almost all its paint; and the white stockings of the left-hand figure.

In the lower-left corner, recording an early restoration, is a diamond-tool scratched inscription: *Robert Pruno-Cossette,*

compagnon vitrier, an 1711 (Robert Pruno-Cossette, stained-glass artisan, year 1711).

Costumes: The only unusual feature of costume in this panel is the parti-colored tunic worn by the guard on the right. So far as is known this type of costume does not appear again in the St. Vincent window at Saint-Germain-des-Prés. A measure of its rarity is indicated by the fact that it was noticed and remarked upon by Guilhermy. Usually in examples of such dress the bi-colored garb refers to heraldry.⁷⁰

Photographic reference: Negative 265874.

29. The Proconsul Dacian seated upon a Throne

Rectangular panel: 76.5 × 54.5 cm (30 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{7}{16}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167b)

Department of Medieval Art

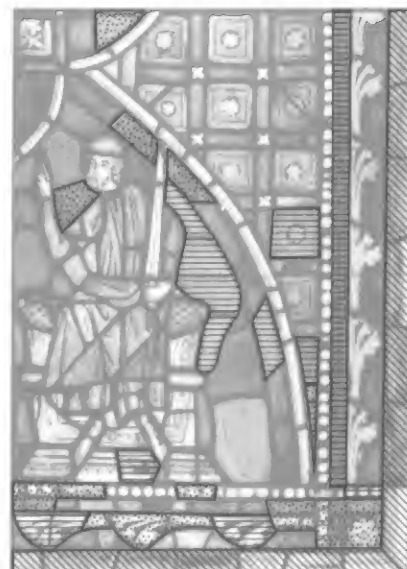
Ill. nos. 29, 29/a

Description and iconography: Proconsul Dacian orders the arrest of Valerius, bishop of Saragossa, and his deacon, Vincent. He is dressed in a long, dark emerald green robe, sapphire blue shoes, and a bright, streaky red mantle and cap. He holds a white sword upright in his left hand and raises his right hand to indicate his order. The throne



29. Proconsul Dacian seated upon a Throne. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245-47

29/a. Restoration chart



upon which he sits is richly decorated with painted ornament. Its base is light brownish murrey, with the seat made of amber yellow, a chair rung of sapphire blue, and a cushion of dark green. The background and ornament are the same as in the previous panel.

Condition: Except for rubbed paint on the sapphire blue of the background and the amber yellow of the throne, the panel is in remarkably good condition.

Photographic Reference: Negative 265875.

30. Bishop Valerius and St. Vincent in Chains

Rectangular panel: 66 × 54 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167c)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 31, 30/a

Description and iconography: Chained by the neck, the bishop of Saragossa and his deacon are brought before Dacian. On a rocky path of brownish murrey, Bishop Valerius, vested in a chasuble of the same color, a dark green dalmatic, and a white alb and mitre, is preceded by his deacon. St. Vincent wears a sapphire blue dalmatic, an

30. *Bishop Valerius and St. Vincent in Chains*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47

30/a. Restoration chart



amber yellow alb, and brownish murrey shoes. He holds a brownish white book, and his flesh and halo are of the same tone. The bishop's face is made of a slightly darker tone, while those of the two guards who accompany the prisoners are slightly paler. Only one guard grips the chain to lead the prisoners; he wears amber yellow hose and a streaky red coat over a dark green doublet.

Condition: This panel is in exceptionally good condition, with paint losses limited to the sapphire blue of the background ornament.

Costumes: The vestments worn by the bishop and deacon are standard for the period. The mitre is of the tall type with peaks front and back that was common in the thirteenth century.⁷¹ The only variation in the typical nature of these vestments is the color of the alb worn by St. Vincent, which was usually unadorned white to allow for frequent washing but which here is yellow.

Photographic reference: Negative 265876.



31. *Dacian condemning Vincent and Valerius*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245-47

31. Dacian condemning Vincent and Valerius

Rectangular panel: 66 × 54 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167d)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 31, 31/a

Description and iconography: Dacian stands under an arcade, sword raised, and points his finger to accuse and condemn Valerius and Vincent for their faith. Because of his advanced age Valerius is spared the brutal torture to which Vincent is subjected. Dacian stands upon a brownish murrey tiled floor supported by dark green brickwork beneath an arcade of red arches and colonettes with green bricks and amber yellow capitals. The proconsul is dressed in a brownish undershirt and a murrey cloak with a yellow lining. His robe is dark green, his shoes are amber yellow, and his light brown cap is the same color as his flesh. He holds a white sword.

Condition: There is some flaking of paint, noticeably in the eyes of the figure, the folds of the green robe, and the tiled floor.

Photographic reference: Negative 265877.



31/a.
Restoration chart

32. King Childebert on his Way to Spain

Rectangular panel: 66 × 54 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167e)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. Nos. 32, 32/a

Description and iconography: Though this scene must be described out of context, it is probable that this rider is King Childebert because the figure is bearded and wears a

crown adorned with standing fleurs-de-lys and arches. He is clad in a long, dark green robe, white shoes and stockings, a dark golden yellow crown, and a cloak of the same color. His horse, which stands upon a golden strip of ground, is dark brownish murrey, fully harnessed in the same, and saddled in amber yellow. The fact that there is no indication of the relics that the king brought back to Paris suggests that this panel illustrates Childebert and his brother Clothar's journey to Saragossa.

Condition: The only noticeable flaking of paint is on the white glass of the king's leg and on the brownish white glass of his hand.

Costumes: The horse trappings are represented in minute detail. The saddle has the high-peaked pommel and cantle as well as the blanket typical of the Middle Ages. The crown worn by the king is unusual in that it includes the two arches between the fleurs-de-lys, considered old-fashioned by the time of Louis IX. This type of crown was rare but not unknown in the thirteenth century.⁷² The king is also fitted with stirrups and wears spurs.

Photographic reference: Negative 265878.

33. King Clothar accompanies his Brother to Spain

Rectangular panel: 66 × 54 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167f)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 33, 33/a

Description and iconography: This scene depicts Clothar, the younger brother of Childebert, who journeyed with the king to Spain on Childebert's expedition against the Visigoths.⁷³ Young and beardless, Clothar here sits astride a white horse. The strips of ground are, on the bottom, streaky red and, above it, golden yellow. He is dressed in a long, dark green robe and streaky red mantle. His crown with small standing fleurs-de-lys, his shoes and stockings, and his saddle are all amber yellow.

Condition: Some flaking and paint losses on the white, yellow, and red glass. The crown is upside down.

Costumes: As in the previous panel the harness of the horse is drawn with unusual care. Of special interest is the detail of the front part or pommel of the saddle that extends downward to protect the legs of the rider.⁷⁴

Photographic reference: Negative 265879.

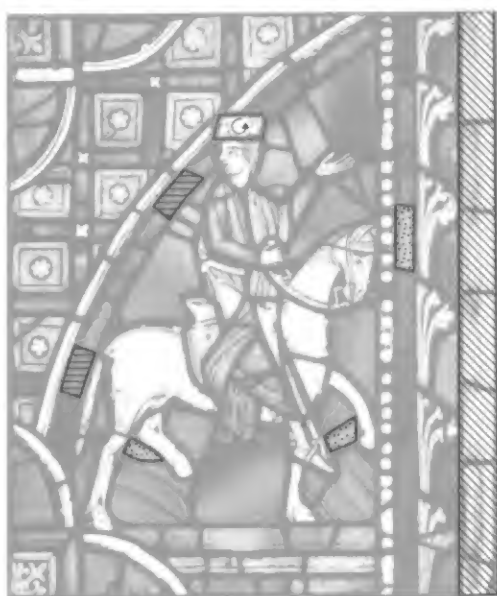


32. *King Childebert on his Way to Spain*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245-47



32/a. Restoration chart

33. *King Clothar accompanies his Brother to Spain.* France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47



33/a. Restoration chart



34. *Bishop Valerius is led to Prison. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245-47*

34. Bishop Valerius is led to Prison

Rectangular panel: 66 × 54 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167g)

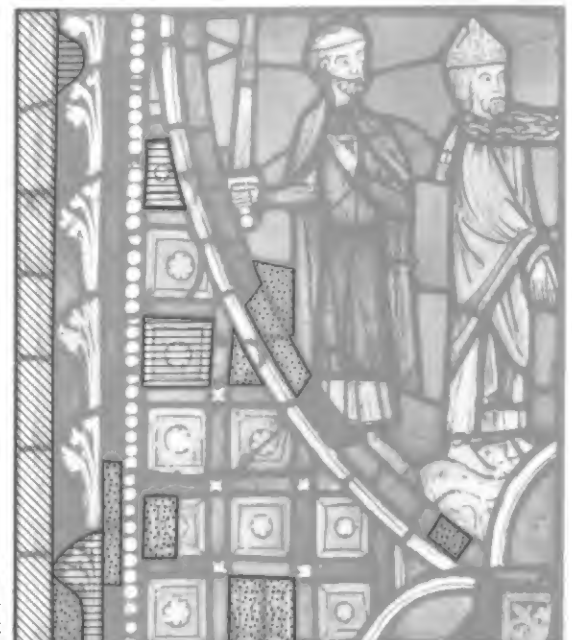
Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 34, 34/a

Description and iconography: Dressed as in previous panels, minus his sapphire blue shoes, the bishop, chained about his neck, is led away from Dacian. The proconsul is dressed in a dark green robe with an undershirt of amber yellow, green shoes, and a red cloak. He wields aloft a light brownish white sword and wears a cap of the same color. The bishop's hands are bound with rope, and he walks in a landscape painted on sapphire blue glass.

Condition: Only the sapphire blue glass shows evidence of flaked paint.

Photographic reference: Negative 265880.



34/a.
Restoration
chart

35. *St. Vincent is led to Prison.* France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245-47



35/a.
Restoration
chart

35. *St. Vincent is led to Prison*

Rectangular panel: 66 × 54 cm (26³/₈ × 21¹/₄ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167h)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 35, 35/a

Description and iconography: Dressed as in previous panels, St. Vincent, his hands bound before him with rope and a chain around his neck, is led away from Dacian. A guard, brandishing an amber yellow club and wearing a streaky red tunic, white stockings, and murrey shoes, leads the prisoners.

Condition: Scuffing of the paint is noticeable on the yellow glass. The head of the guard was replaced with a stopgap from the same window before its purchase by Pratt.

Photographic reference: Negative 265881.



36. Elements from the Scene of *St. Vincent's Body thrown into the Sea*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245-47

36. Elements from the Scene of *St. Vincent's Body thrown into the Sea*

Irregularly shaped panel: 54 × 54 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167i)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 36, 36/a

Description and iconography: Of the two men in the scene, one in a murrey tunic stands in the prow of a boat while the accompanying figure in a dark green tunic and white hood bends to lower the net containing the saint's body into the sea. The water is composed of white, murrey, and sapphire blue striations, and the boat is amber yellow. The net is brownish white.

Condition: The panel is considerably restored, and its initial shape, as evidenced by the red and white edge fillets on the left, has been altered. Original elements include the boat (with the exception of the piece on the left), the figure standing in the prow, part of the net, and some of the water and background. The portion of the boat next to the prow that includes part of the net and one hand of the lower figure is upside down.

Photographic reference: Negative 265882.



36/a. Restoration chart



37. *A Man sounding an Oliphant from a Tower*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47

37. A Man sounding an Oliphant from a Tower

Irregularly shaped panel: 54 × 54 cm (26 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 26 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167j)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 37, 37/a

Description: A figure blowing a large, brownish white oliphant and wearing a sapphire blue tunic leans from a tower. The tower is made of brownish white brickwork, with a balustrade of dark green and murrey, crenellations of sapphire blue, a turret of dark green, and a roof and interior of red. There is a murrey star in the sky.

Condition and iconography: The panel is considerably remade. Its original shape has been altered from the quadrant format, as evidenced by the red edge fillet on the right. The lower portion of the tower, the turret, and some of the background are original. Guilhermy described a panel with a crenellated tower guarded by two soldiers positioned above the other St. Vincent scenes now in the collection.⁷⁵ It is likely that the lower part of the tower and turret here belonged to the panel he described. The subject of that scene was St. Vincent thrown into prison

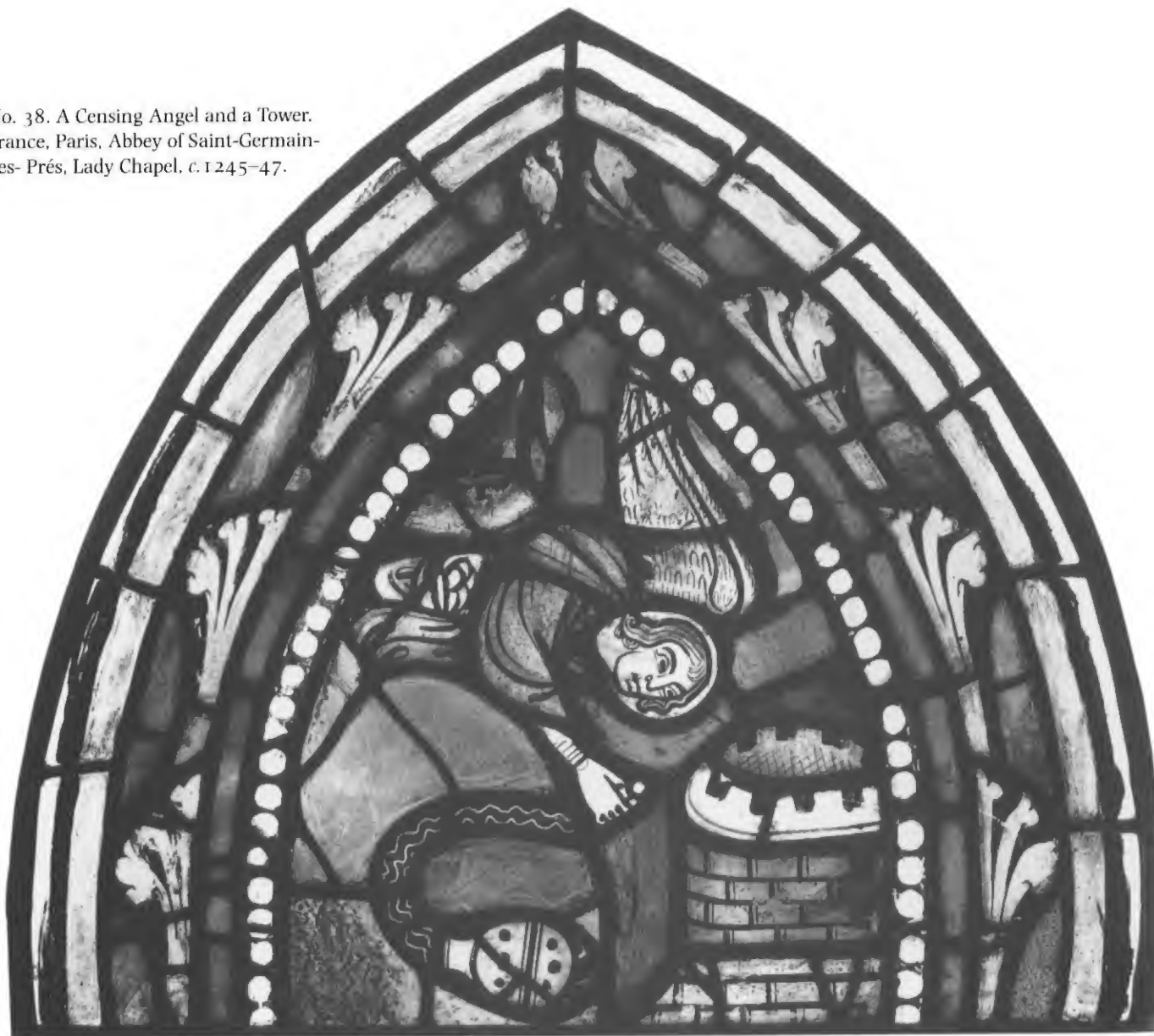


37/a. Restoration chart

by Dacian. Its sequel, *St. Vincent unfettered*, is now in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, and has a tower very similar to this one.⁷⁶ Shepard suggests that the present scene belongs to an episode from the Relics of St. Vincent window and represents a citizen of Saragossa blowing an oliphant to announce the display of the relics.⁷⁷

Photographic reference: Negative 265883.

No. 38. A Censing Angel and a Tower.
France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-
des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c. 1245–47.



38. A Censing Angel and a Tower

Arc-shaped panel: 50 × 53 cm (19 $\frac{11}{16}$ × 20 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.)

Gift of George D. Pratt, 1924 (24.167k)

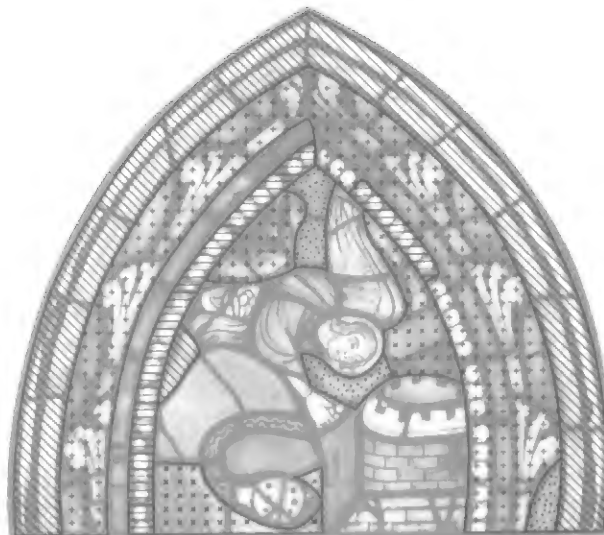
Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 38, 38/a

Description and iconography: An angel, dressed in a dark olive green robe and a murrey mantle, flies on amber yellow wings above a tower and swings a censer. The tower is made of dark green and murrey brickwork and has white crenellations. The interior is streaky red. The censer is yellow. The panel is perhaps a fragment of a larger scene in which angels visit St. Vincent in prison to comfort him and to break his bonds. It would be paired with the previous scene of St. Vincent thrown into prison by Dacian (No. 35). The sequel to both panels, in which the saint is shown unfettered in prison, is now in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.⁷⁸ Alternately, Shepard assigns the tower here, as well as panel No. 37, to the Relics window and identifies the pieces as elements from the siege of Saragossa.⁷⁹

Condition: The scene is very much restored. Only the tower, the wing of the angel, and part of the background are original.

Photographic reference: Negative 265884.



No. 38/a. Restoration chart

39-40. TWO SCENES FROM THE LEGEND OF ST. GERMAIN OF PARIS AND THE HISTORY OF HIS RELICS

Rectangular panels: 63.8×40 cm ($25\frac{1}{8} \times 15\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

63.8×39.8 cm ($25\frac{1}{8} \times 15\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

1973.262.1 and 2, The Cloisters Collection

Ill. nos. 39-40/1

Iconography: The subject of this window, originally thought to illustrate a history of the abbey and its relics, has been recently identified by Shepard as the *Life of St. Germain of Paris and a History of His Relics*.⁸⁰ Shepard's identification was based on the scene of the saint's funeral found in Winchester College in England. She has now been able to establish the various panels remaining from this window as related to miracles worked by St. Germain (c.496-576), bishop of Paris, during his life or posthumously, to his associations with the Merovingian royal family, and to the monastery and his diocese.⁸¹

As in the case of the St. Vincent window, most of the scenes in the St. Germain window continue across the central iron.⁸² The two Cloisters panels, however, are not a pair and concern two different incidents. The image of the woman holding the flasks relates to the traumatic early life of St. Germain. *The Vita of St. Germain* by Venantius Fortunatus tells how Germain's grandmother plotted to kill him so that his cousin Stratide could gain the inheritance of both. The Cloisters panel represents the episode in which the servant girl carries the two flasks to the boys. Inadvertently or miraculously the flasks are confused and the drink containing the poison is given to Stratide.⁸³

The scene of the sleeping monk refers to a posthumous miracle by St. Germain, who appears in a dream to one of the monks of the abbey, warning him of the impending Norman invasions and advising him that the brothers as well as the abbey's relics would successfully survive the raiders.⁸⁴ The account describes the gleaming countenance of the saint, which explains the strange golden glass used for the apparition's face.

Composition and ornament: Though neither of these panels was known prior to Grodecki's discovery of them in a Parisian private collection before 1957, there is no question that they belong to the window at Saint-Germain-des-Prés devoted to the life of St. Germain. Engravings from the Lenoir plate (28-38/1) show that the window's scenes were arranged as spindle-shaped quadrants with both upper and lower compositions continuing across the center divider to form single incidents or scenes. Each elliptical compartment containing the compound scenes was edged in a broad red fillet bordered by a narrow, white painted fillet and was joined with other compartments by red quatrefoils edged in white, with four diagonally placed light green leaves at each center. The mosaic ground was

a diagonally oriented lattice of red with white squares at the joints on a field of blue and on which floated a red square. Painted palmette buds projected from the sides of the red centers on crosshatched grounds. The mosaic ground with its diagonal orientation is of a type also found in the windows of the Sainte-Chapelle; in fact, the design of this mosaic is almost a duplication of that in bays E and H of the royal chapel.

Unfortunately, the Museum's panels have lost the borders shown on the left side of the Lenoir plate. However, one other panel from this window, now at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, has retained its original border decoration,⁸⁵ composed of narrow strips of white glass painted with a zigzag design on its inner edge, a series of sapphire blue rosettes widely spaced on a red field, and an exterior white breaking fillet. The ornament of the St. Germain window is very simple in design and much larger in scale than that of the St. Vincent window.

Technique: The St. Germain panels show a noticeable simplicity and general reduction of composition that creates a monumentality not present in the work of the St. Vincent Master. An example of this trait can be seen in the relatively small number of pieces of glass that originally made up one of the St. Germain panels. In the panel of the *Servant carrying Two Flasks* (No. 40) there were approximately fifty pieces, excluding the missing border. In the panel of the *Two Guards before Dacian* in the St. Vincent window (No. 28), however, there were a comparable number of pieces in the ornamental field alone. Overall the elements of the St. Germain window are larger in scale than those of the St. Vincent window, and image is conveyed through the placement of large masses and contrast of tone. The master employs two basic widths of trace line: a broad, thick stroke applied rapidly with a loaded brush, and a fine, hair-thin line for detail or accent. These two lines, used in combination, define form, requiring almost no shading with mat. Details of setting are virtually nonexistent; the object in or on which the monk sleeps in No. 39, for example, is left to the imagination to enhance the power of his vision. The technical proficiency shown in these panels belongs to an artist with consummate skill.

Style and date: The St. Germain Master was an exceptionally gifted artist both in his ability to compose his figures and as a colorist. His figures were much larger in scale than those of the other ateliers working at the abbey. They were composed in terms of their silhouette against an intense blue background. In addition, his scenes possess a sense of drama, evident, for example, in the sleeping monk's pose – a series of concave curves, the figure without physical means of support, the ashen face turned away from the specter of the saint. This master's ability as a draftsman was unique in stained glass of the mid-thirteenth century. He used no mat tones to achieve modeling.

Instead, form was suggested by the simple color masses of his figures and the painted line – broad, sweeping strokes and hair-thin hooks – that delineated details. The features of his figures were distinctive and consistent: rounded heads with expansive foreheads and generous brows; enormous staring eyes with both upper and lower lids defined by double lines; wide, bulbous noses, thinned occasionally to beak shapes to depict older persons; and M-shaped upper and lower lips, with vertical accents at the top corners to suggest the swell of the cheeks and the contoured line repeated thinly below. Curved and wavy lines denoted hair. The figures were of tall and slender proportions accented by the vertical folds of drapery.

No other work besides the present St. Germain windows, probably completed by 1247, is known by this artist's hand. If any figures could be said to epitomize – or, perhaps, to have created – the “new style” of Paris in the 1240s, it would be the work of this exceptional talent and his colleague, the principal master of the Sainte-Chapelle.

Photographic reference: An old photograph exists in Museum files showing the two panels leaded together; this

was evidently printed in reverse as the images are transposed (39–40/1). In it a stopgap of silver-stained white glass with a grid pattern replaces what is now the left hand of the woman holding the flask, constituting what was probably referred to by Grodecki as a “spit.”⁸⁶ On the back of the photograph is the Museum's “Offer of Purchase” stamp and the notation “Laroussilhe-1958,” which offers additional information on the provenance of the piece: the private collector who owned the glass when Grodecki saw it in 1957 was most likely alerted to its possible value by Grodecki's interest and sold the panels the following year to the Parisian dealer Brimo de Laroussilhe. This sequence of events narrows to fifteen years the “whereabouts-unknown” gap preceding the acquisition of the glass by the Museum. Upon purchase by the Museum, the panels were photographed in January 1974 in small format, No. 39, negative 53074, and No. 40, negative 53075.⁸⁷ After restoration the panels were again photographed in small format, No. 39, negative 205666, and No. 40, negative 205667. Later the panels were each photographed in large format, negatives 233089 and 233090.



39–40/1.
Nos. 39 and
40 joined,
c.1958

39. *Vision of a sleeping Monk*. France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245–47.

39/a. Restoration chart



39. *Vision of a sleeping Monk*

Rectangular panel: 63.8 × 40 cm (25 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1973 (1973.262.1)

Ill. nos. 39, 39/a

Description and iconography: A monk with a warm white face sits sleeping in a streaky purple habit with light emerald green sleeves and bright lemon yellow stockings. At his side is the apparition of St. Germain. The saint is dressed in a light blue habit and has a red halo. His face and his hand that holds a book are dark yellow brown. The background is an intense cobalt blue. There is only a hint of setting in the scene, the lack of which evokes the supernatural quality of the monk's vision.

Condition: Some chipping of the glass has obliterated bits of the paint, most notably in the forehead of the sleeping monk. The purple and the yellow glass exhibit some flaking paint, but in general the panel is in very good condition. In 1974 Dieter Goldkuhle removed a number of repair leads, and the broken pieces were secured.

Color: The color scheme of this panel is exceptional. The streaky purple, the light emerald green and strong lemon yellow, and above all the intense cobalt ground are colors never found in the much simpler palette of the St. Vincent window.

Photographic reference: Negative 233089.



40. *A Servant carrying Two Flasks.* France, Paris, Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Lady Chapel, c.1245-47.

40/a. Restoration chart



40. A Servant carrying Two Flasks

Rectangular panel: 63.8 × 39.8 cm (25 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 15 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1973 (1973.262.2)

Ill. Nos. 40, 40/a

Description and iconography: A woman in a bright lemon yellow dress and a white head cloth, knotted above her ear, offers two warm white flasks, probably to someone in the missing compartment to the left of the panel. She appears to be coming out of a building, suggested by the red arch, supported on a yellow capital, and an emerald green crenellated wall topped by a pinkish purple turret that can be seen above. The background here, like that of the other St. Germain panel (No. 39), is an intense cobalt blue.

Condition: The segment with the flask and the left hand of

the woman is a replacement for the stopgaps of the "spit" that was effected by Dieter Goldkuhle in the restoration of 1974, at which time the leads were replaced. Although this is the only documented restoration of the glass, there must have been others, as part of the green brickwork has been set in askew, the capital is not square with the arch, and the woman's white shoe is upside down. With the exception of these repairs, the panel is in very good condition. Flaked paint shows on the white, pink, and yellow glass.

Color: The bright lemon yellow dress contrasts with the brilliant cobalt of the ground, and the juxtaposition is intensified by the small color repeat in the yellow capital. The design of the panel demonstrates again this master's extraordinary sense of color and scale.

Photographic reference: Negative 233090.

NOTES

1. The best review of the early literature citing inscriptions and martyrology notices can be found in Shepard 1990, pp. 8–22. Of special importance are Bouillart 1724, pp. 123–24, and Sauval 1724, p. 341, both of whom refer to the glass. As for other modern authors, Grodecki in Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 92 and n. 5, is imprecise about giving dates for the refectory and the Lady Chapel (“the refectory and the Lady Chapel . . . can be dated between 1234 or 1235 and 1243 or 1244”), although he quotes both Branner and Verdier, neither of whom agree with him. Verdier 1962–63, pp. 66 and 73, lists a number of early sources, including Bonfons 1608, fols. 38 and 38v; Branner 1965, p. 68, adds Verlet 1957–58.
2. There have always been differences of opinion regarding the start of construction on the royal chapel. Branner 1965, p. 64, placed the date not beyond 1241, which corroborates the dating of Félibien and Filleau de la Chaise, who, writing in the seventeenth century proposed 1241–42; Jaillot, in the eighteenth century, presented a similar opinion; and Aubert, in his 1910 monograph on Senlis, claimed c.1240 as the starting date based on stylistic grounds; see Branner 1965, p. 64 n. 26. Grodecki 1975a, p. 6, conceded that the date was 1241/43, then in Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 96, changed the dating to 1240 or 1242 and concluded that the glass was started at the same time, 1242.
3. Branner 1965, p. 62.
4. Bouillart 1724, pp. 123 and 126, and Sauval 1724, p. 341. Though the architecture of the rose is described, none of the eyewitnesses discussed the glass it contained. Had it not been glazed in color, the glare and surface lighting on the apse windows would have been so severe that Sauval would never have seen the “great fire,” as he characterized the brilliance of the eastern bays. More recently, Shepard 1990, pp. 128–31, and catalogue pp. 289–91, has identified three medallions illustrating wise and foolish virgins, now installed in the Chapel of Saint-Eugène at Saint-Denis as part of the west rose glazing. Her identification is based on their similarity to the Saint-Germain-des-Prés Infancy panels now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.
5. Alexandre Lenoir himself began this confusion in the fifth edition (an VIII) of his catalogue, Lenoir [1799–1800], in which he stated that the stained glass installed in the “Thirteenth-Century Gallery” came from the Saint-Germain-des-Prés refectory. This led James Rorimer 1948, pp. 199–204, to attribute the Museum’s window to the refectory, followed by the exhaustively researched Verdier 1962–63, pp. 66–94, which came to the same conclusion. Until his last article on the Saint-Germain-des-Prés glass in Grodecki 1977–78, p. 11, that scholar tended to follow Verdier by dating the glass 1240–45, thus implying that it preceded the Sainte-Chapelle; see Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 149.
6. Bonfons 1608 records on fol. 38 that, according to the lost inscription above the door, the chapel was begun by Abbot Hugues d’Issy in 1245. The inscription on the tomb of Thomas de Mauleon (fol. 38v) notes that he completed the chapel begun by Hugues. No date is mentioned, but Thomas’s successor was chosen in 1255. The inscription on Hugues’s tomb is lost. Hugues d’Issy died 5 December 1246 and was buried in the choir of the Lady Chapel (fol. 38); his tomb was destroyed during a re-paving of the chapel in 1517. For transcriptions of Bonfons, see also Shepard 1990, pp. 11–12.
7. On the abbey during the French Revolution, see Réau 1959, vol. 1, pp. 299–300, and vol. 2, pp. 118–19; Stern 1930, vol. 2, pp. 13–16; Vauthier 1913, pp. 174–83; and Gilbert 1854–55, pp. 532–35. For a summary, see Shepard 1990, pp. 18–23.
8. Courajod 1878–87, vol. 1, p. 112; see also Shepard 1990, pp. 28–29, nn. 22–23.
10. The Republican calendar that Alexandre Lenoir used in his diary gives the date of the explosion and fire as 1 fructidor an II, which converts to 18 August 1794. However, the year II began on 22 September 1793. Albert Lenoir may have been making the common error of forgetting the spanned years of the calendar. Destruction of the portal sculpture is described in Réau 1959, vol. 1, p. 300.
11. On Lenoir, the depot, and the museum, see Réau 1959, vol. 1, pp. 390–95, and vol. 2, pp. 47–50; Courajod 1878–87; and Huard 1941, pp. 188–206. [See also Shepard 1990, pp. 23–35, and Haskell 1993, pp. 236–52.]
12. See Guiffrey 1883–97, vol. 3, p. 34. [For further details on the receipt and inventory of glass panels at the depot, see Hayward 1992, p. 286, and Shepard 1992, p. 311.]
13. See Huard 1925, pp. 113–26, esp. pp. 114 and 116. For a description of the architecture, see also Lavallée 1797, vol. 2, no. 13, p. 159.
14. See Huard 1925, p. 120.
15. See n. 8 above. Unlike the other glass illustrated by Albert Lenoir, these six panels, located in the upper-left corner, are illustrated in black and white. The panels illustrated in color were transferred (following the museum’s closing) to Saint-Denis and to the newly created Parish Church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; see Shepard 1990, pp. 35–48.
16. On the liquidation of the museum, see Réau 1959, vol. 2, pp. 68–72, and Shepard 1990, p. 34 n. 38.
17. See Courajod 1878–87, vol. 1, pp. 179–86.
18. See *ibid.*, p. 186, for glass shipped to Saint-Denis.
19. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6121, fols. 84 and 84v.
20. CV France, *Études* I, p. 46.
21. On the restorations of Debret, see *ibid.*, pp. 47–51.
22. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6121, fols. 84 and 84v, transcribed in *ibid.*, pp. 146–47, and Shepard 1990, pp. 40–41 (which also includes an English translation).
23. Some of these panels are now set into a grisaille window NVIII in the former chapel of Saint-Fermin (now Saint-Michel) at Saint-Denis, the first on the north side of the choir. The window was installed after 1953 by the architect Jules Formigé. The rest of the glass has disappeared.
24. “Fenêtre à droite, en prenant par le bas.
Deux rois, couronne en tête, l’un sur un cheval blanc, l’autre sur un rouge. On remarque tout les détails des selles, des brides et les mors.
Deux gardes, dont une vêtu d’un costume mi-partie vert et rouge, prennent les ordres d’un roi assis sur un trône. Un soldat conduit un évêque mitré, et un diacre nimbé, à un roi assis sous un arceau; ce dernier fait un geste de commandement. On n’aperçoit que la tête d’un cinquième personnage.
Un évêque mitre en tête, et un diacre (sa robe d’or) nimbé, enchainés tous deux par le cou; un soldat à l’air farouche, armé d’une masse, et vêtu d’une tunique rouge serrée les entraîne.
Un tour crénelée, gardée par deux soldats armés, l’un d’une masse, l’autre d’un bouclier, vêtus tous deux de tuniques serrées. Un troisième personnage, le glaive en main, vêtu d’une robe vert et d’un manteau rouge (la tour est refaite?).”
25. See CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 58, panel 3.
26. On Viollet-le-Duc’s restoration, see CV France, *Études* I, pp. 52–56.
27. See CV France, *Recensement* I, pp. 108–10.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
29. This information is based on extracts from a confidential report titled “Documents Concerning the Window of XIII Century Glass,” Correspondence for 1924, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Archives.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*, handwritten note at end of report.
33. Didron 1844, p. 192.
34. See CV France, *Études* I, p. 53 and n. 27.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 52–55.
36. Oudinot was often employed by Viollet-le-Duc, notably on the restoration of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris and on the windows from the Sainte-Chapelle of Vincennes. He was also a very well-known glass designer in his own right, having made, among other commissions, the choir windows of

- the Church of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in Paris and the three windows of the Resurrection in the south transept of Trinity Church, Boston. His obituary notice was published in "[Stanislaus] Oudinot" 1889, pp. 286–87. [See also Françoise Perrot in Paris 1980, p. 175.]
37. On the practices of restorers in the nineteenth century, and on Oudinot and Leprévost in particular, see Lafond 1978, pp. 173–77.
 38. Ibid. In the mid-nineteenth century the market for old stained glass on the Continent, unlike that in England, was not flourishing. Commerce in glass with America was yet to begin. See Lafond 1964, pp. 58–67; Rackham 1927–28, pp. 86–94; and Kent 1935–37, pp. 191–96.
 39. See Grodecki 1957–58, p. 36 n. 14. Shepard 1990, p. 253, lists the collections history as Jacques Seligman, Paris; unidentified private collector; Brimo de Laroussilhe, Paris; S. Kummer-Rothenhäuser, Zurich. Basel 1973, n.p., ill.
 40. In the fifth edition of his catalogue, Alexandre Lenoir [1799–1800], p. 368, states "provenant du réfectoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés," which is repeated in the sixth edition published in 1802, p. 357; see also n. 5 above, regarding the question of the refectory.
 41. See Bouillart 1724, p. 123, and Sauval 1724, p. 341.
 42. See n. 2 above.
 43. On the iconographic program of the Sainte-Chapelle, see CV France I, pp. 78–84; [Jordan 1994; and Jordan 2002].
 44. [For the possible placement of these windows, see Shepard 1998, pp. 262–63.] A number of panels pertaining to an Infancy cycle and to a *Tree of Jesse* window have been identified in Shepard 1990, pp. 76–88 and 216–41. Grodecki always believed that future studies would identify additional cycles; see Grodecki 1957–58, p. 35, and Grodecki 1956, pp. 82–83. If precedent were followed in Lady Chapels, i.e., as at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Amiens, the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Beauvais, and the Cathedral of Saint-Julien at Le Mans, there would also have been a Passion window, perhaps a *Legend of Theophilus* window, and a Dormition window, as at the Collegiate Church of Saint-Quentin. Shepard suggests that a Theophilus cycle possibly accompanied the *Glorification of the Virgin* window at Saint-Germain-des-Prés; see Shepard 1990, pp. 89–96.
 45. Shepard 1986–87, pp. 115–20, and further discussed in Shepard 1990, pp. 97–108. For Grodecki and Verdier, see nn. 5, 39, and 43 above.
 46. Shepard presented this thesis first at the 22d International Congress on Medieval Studies, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan, (7–10 May 1987).
 47. For the early history of the abbey, see n. 1 above as well as Bouillart 1724, pp. 4–5; Sauval 1724, pp. 335–36; and Biver and Biver 1970, pp. 4–6. Following the translation in 754 of Germain's remains to a chasse kept behind the main altar, the name of the monastery gradually changed to honor this bishop-saint.
 48. In addition to the *Life of St. Anne and the Virgin*, already known for many years, Grodecki identified three panels from an *Infancy of Christ* now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum at Nuremberg that are in a different style; see Grodecki 1977–78, p. 12. Shepard has identified panels in the same style from a *Tree of Jesse* window as well as a *Crowned Virgin Mary holding a Palm* that suggests a Dormition-Coronation cycle; Shepard 1990, pp. 82–86, 89–94, 149–58, 216–23, 228–29, and 242–43. A panel showing one of the twenty-four *Elders of the Apocalypse* by the same atelier as the one that made the *Life of St. Germain* was sold at auction in 1922 at the New American Art Galleries in New York; see de Souhami Sale 1922, lot 93.
 49. See Grodecki in CV France I, pp. 74–78, and Cothren 1980, pp. 137–46.
 50. Examples are found from the end of the twelfth century now at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Châlons-sur-Marne and from the first third of the thirteenth century at the Cathedral of Saint-Maurice at Angers (see Hayward and Grodecki 1966, pp. 26–27); at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges (see Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 108 and fig. 105); at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres (see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 1, pls. XIV–XVI); at the Cathedral of Saint-Pierre at Poitiers (see Grodecki 1948, fig. 173); and at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Rouen (see Ritter 1926, pls. XII–XIV, XVIII [and CV France, *Recensement* VI, p. 346]).
 51. See Meredith Lillich's important discussion of these heraldic types of borders in Lillich 1983, p. 126 n.25.
 52. For the purpose of this discussion the term trellis refers to the pattern of a mosaic ground constructed parallel to the horizontal and vertical axes of the window, and a lattice pattern is one that is constructed on a diagonal to the main axes of the window.
 53. For summaries of early accounts of the martyrdom of St. Vincent and the histories of his relics, see Shepard 1990, p. 109 n. 1, and [Shepard 1998, p. 264 n. 27]. See, in particular, Jacobus de Voragine 1993, vol. 1, pp. 105–8.
 54. Verdier 1962–63, p. 62, fig. 24. Although Verdier attributed the glass to the refectory, his diagram is still useful since the height of the Lady Chapel was almost the same. The Vincent window at Chartres Cathedral contains twenty-eight scenes; see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 2, pls. CXI–CXIII. The one at Bourges Cathedral had twenty compartments, the lowest six of which no longer exist. The Chartres legend includes the saint's life from the time he became a deacon until he was buried, while the story at Bourges concludes with the saint's body thrown into the sea.
 55. This suggestion was proposed by Shepard 1990, pp. 116–18, and [elaborated upon in Shepard 1998, pp. 258–65].
 56. [See *ibid.*, pp. 260–65.]
 57. Verdier 1957–58, pp. 69–74, and Verdier 1962–63, pp. 39–59.
 58. See Grodecki in CV France I. According to the plan on p. 75, bays A, H, I, L, and M (bays I, NII, NV, NVI, and SVIII) all have the "broccoli"-type border of blue foliage on a red ground. A considerable amount of the border on the Museum's window is original, in contrast to the ornament of the Walters window in which both the fermaillets and the borders are copied from the Metropolitan's glass; see Verdier 1962–63, pp. 39–59.
 59. See Cothren 1980, p. 140, pls. 92 and 99c.
 60. For illustrations, see Grodecki in CV France I, pp. 77 n. 7, 94, 159, 185, and 195.
 61. There are five windows at Chartres Cathedral, dating between c.1205–25; see Delaporte and Houvet 1926, vol. 1, pls. XVIII–XX, XLVIII–L, and XCI, as well as plate vol. 2, pls. CXIX–CXXI and CLXXV–CLXXVII. There are also five windows at Bourges Cathedral, dating between c.1210–15; see Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pls. VIII, XI(A), XIV(A) and (B), and XV(A). There is also one window at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Laon, dating c.1210–15; see Grodecki and Brisac 1984, pls. 21 and 23. All of these windows have trelliswork grounds, but those with lattice backgrounds outnumber these examples two to one.
 62. Verdier 1962–63, p. 78.
 63. Grodecki 1977–78, p. 11, gives 1250. Verdier 1962–63, p. 73, gives before 1255. [See also Shepard 1992, pp. 286 and 299 n. 3].
 64. See Grodecki 1957–58, p. 37, and Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 149; Verdier 1962–63, pp. 95 and 96; and Cothren 1980, pp. 139–42. It is difficult to equate, at 1245 (the date Cothren gives his master), the trough-fold drapery style of the Beauvais Cathedral window with the contemporaneous Parisian fishhook folds of the Sainte-Chapelle.
 65. Grodecki 1957–58, p. 37.
 66. [See Dom Poirier, "Abbaye Saint-Germain-des-Prés, II: Histoire," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 18817, fols. 52 and 52v; inscription transcribed in Shepard 1990, p. 276]. See also Verlet 1957–58, pp. 22, 35, and 41.
 67. Lenoir first mentions Tailleur on 20 messidor an VI (8 July 1798); the Thirteenth-Century Gallery had opened late the previous year. See Courajod 1878–87, vol. 1, p. 135 no. 956.

68. See n. 24 above for Guilhermy's observations.
69. A report by Bashford Dean to George D. Pratt, undated, states this; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives.
70. For Guilhermy, see n. 24 above. Another example of parti-colored costume can be seen in the lancets below the south rose at Chartres Cathedral, given by the house of Dreux c.1225; the donors wear blazoned surcoats. See Delaporte and Houvet 1926, plate vol. 3, pls. CIC-CCI.
71. Hayward 1971, pp. 299-309 and fig. 13.
72. See William of Saint-Palhus, "Life and Miracles of St. Louis" Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 5716, fols. 246 and 137, which show similar crowns worn by the king. On some coins from the reign of King Stephen the crown with three fleurs-de-lys and two arches appear, but the arches afterward go out of fashion in England; see Fox-Davies 1985, p. 266.
73. Shepard 1990, pp. 274-75, and [Shepard 1998, pp. 259-60].
74. See Viollet-le-Duc 1868-75, vol. 5, pp. 68-69, ill.
75. See Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6121, fol. 84v.
76. Verdier 1962-63, p. 48 and fig. 16.
77. See Shepard 1990, pp. 275-76, and [Shepard 1998, p. 260].
78. Shepard 1990, p. 266.
79. Ibid., p. 175, and [Shepard 1998, pp. 258-65].
80. Shepard 1992, pp. 282-301, is the most recent and most detailed consideration of the St. Germain windows by that author; for earlier articles, see nn. 45 and 46 above. Grodecki 1957-58, p. 36, suggests that the window represents a history of the monastery, but in Grodecki 1977-78, p. 12, his last article on the glass, the author suggests that this glass was related to the history of St. Vincent's relics and possibly to that of another saint, such as St. Germain. Verdier 1962-63, pp. 86-88, believed it to be a history of the abbey.
81. See Shepard 1992, pp. 295-97.
82. Clearly discernible in those shown in Lenoir 1867, vol. 1., pl. XXXII (28-38/1).
83. See Shepard 1992, pp. 292-93, esp. p. 290, fig. 7, for the poisoning of Stratide.
84. See *ibid.*, p. 298.
85. For the Victoria and Albert panel of King Childebert, see *ibid.*, p. 291, fig. 9.
86. Grodecki 1957-58, p. 36 n. 14.
87. These photographs were published in *MMA Notable Acquisitions* 1975, p. 162.

41-46. SIX PANELS FROM GRISAILLE WINDOWS

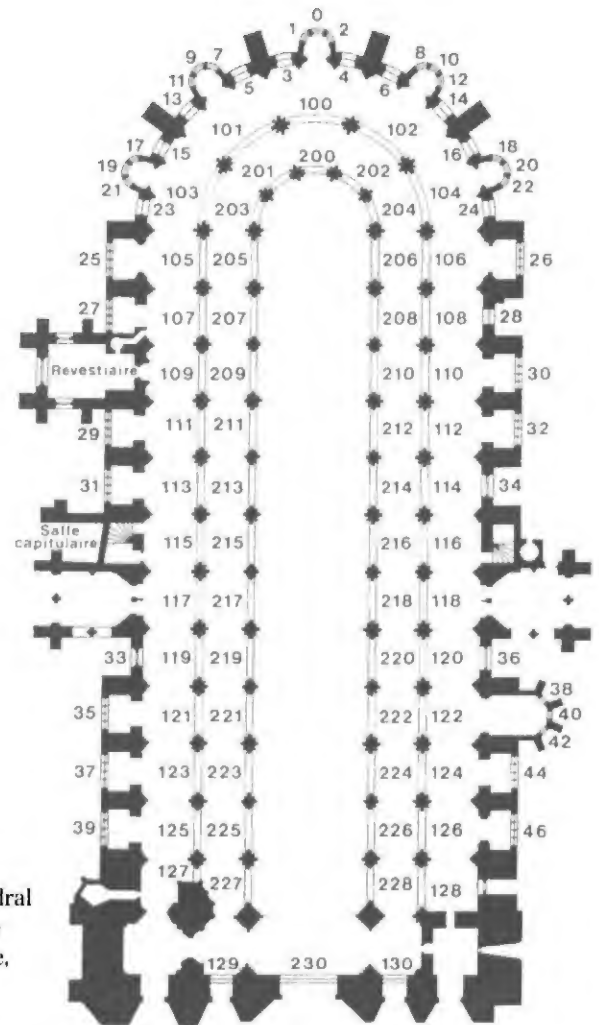
France (Cher), Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, nave clerestory

1250-70

History of the glass: There are no documents relating either to the glass or to the architecture that can provide a date for the completion of the grisaille windows in the upper stories of the nave at the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges (41/fig. 1). Robert Branner placed the beginning of the second campaign that comprised the nave and the facade at c.1225.¹ This date was based on a charter that mentions the *frons ecclesie* in 1232.² By 1235 work had begun on the inner side aisles that rose to the lower clerestory, and by 1245 building had started in the central nave, with the structure of the nave and facade being completed about 1255.³ Branner further noted that by 1260 the chapter, according to several charters, seemed to be in financial difficulties, the reason, he believed, for the change from full color to grisaille in the upper windows of the nave.⁴ Meredith Lillich notes, however, that although many of the grisailles at Bourges are typical of the 1260s, there are others that appear to be earlier, notably those in the lower clerestory on the south side, the side, according to Branner, that was undertaken first.⁵ Dating the grisailles to mid-century would allow a comparable and more comfortable date for the figural rosettes that surmount them, which have been placed too early.⁶

Little is known about any restorations made to the glass prior to the nineteenth century. We do know that before the French Revolution a local glass painter was in charge of repairs for several decades.⁷ By 1841, when Arthur Martin and Charles Cahier published their monograph on

the glass, the grisailles were most likely in sorry shape, attested by the authors' summary dismissal of their quality.⁸ In fact, the windows of the upper choir do not appear to have been touched before the general restoration by



41/fig. 1.
Floor plan,
Bourges, Cathedral
of Saint-Étienne
(after CV France,
Recensement II,
p. 169)

the Parisian glaziers Louis Steinheil (1814–1885) and Charles Leprévost (d. 1903) that began in 1885.⁹ As late as 1898 they remained unrepaired; the marquis des Méloizes reported at a meeting of the Congrès Archéologique that year that the grisailles, very damaged by clumsy refurbishments of all periods, were awaiting a new restoration, which would produce a happier effect.¹⁰ The “new restoration” must have been comprehensive; Lillich remarks that in their present state the grisailles “on the north, at both clerestory and upper ambulatory levels, have since been largely replaced by modern copies, and the south ensembles have all been restored extensively.”¹¹

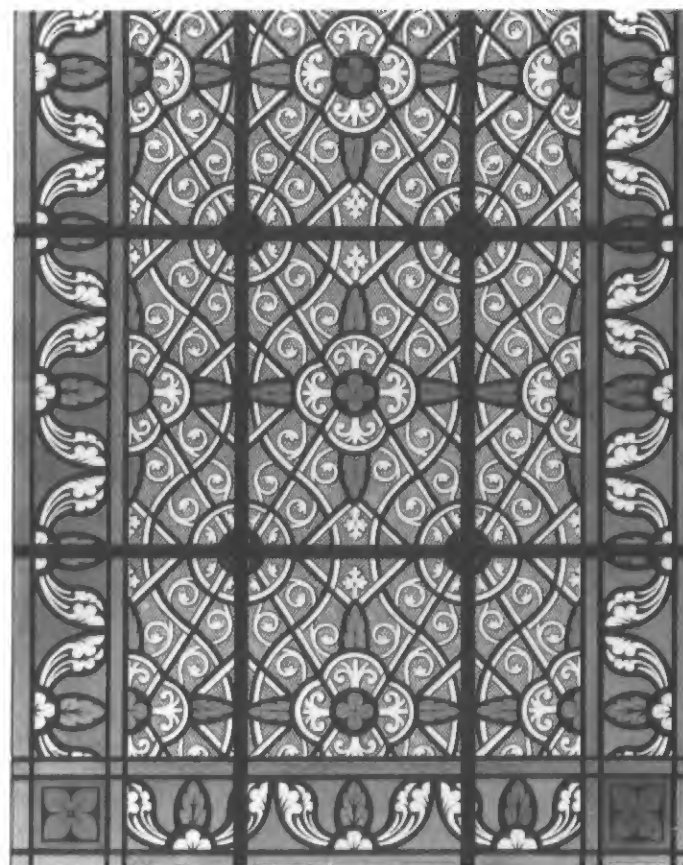
These various comments provide a time frame for the removal of the Cloisters panels from the cathedral. By the middle of the nineteenth century the nave grisailles were most likely very weathered and darkened, which probably accounts for Martin and Cahier’s tepid assessment of their artistic value. The absence of any major restoration prior to the last decade of the nineteenth century and the substantial amount of modern and restored glass noted by Lillich suggests that the Museum’s panels were removed during the long-awaited restoration.

Leprévost, working with Steinheil, executed the work. The methods employed in the nineteenth century,¹² particularly in the case of grisaille glass, called for cracked or broken pieces – or even whole panels – to simply be removed, and new glass made in its place. It was quicker and easier, when working with the repetitive patterns of grisaille, to substitute new panels for old rather than to attempt repairs, and the soft colorless glass of grisaille windows, especially prone to corrosion, was particularly offensive in its darkened state. Restorations to grisaille windows were, therefore, notably drastic, and Leprévost was a master at imitating medieval grisaille of all periods.¹³ The glass that was pulled out of a window was kept by the restorer either to be used again as a stopgap or retained as a collector’s item. All glazier-restorers were collectors of stained glass, and Leprévost was no exception.¹⁴ Acquisitions of such glass could be made at atelier estate sales.¹⁵ One collector who purchased glass at the sale of the contents of Leprévost’s atelier, even before he had established his own workshop in Paris, was the glazier Michel Acézat (1878–1944), whose father had also been a collector of stained glass (and whose collection had passed to his son).¹⁶ Acézat owned an exceptional number of grisaille panels, including those from Bourges now in The Cloisters Collection, which were most likely acquired by him in 1903 at the Leprévost atelier sale. Acézat’s own collection was sold in 1969. At that time the Bourges grisaille panels were bought by the Parisian dealer Michel Meyer, later sold to the Zurich dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler, and, ultimately, purchased by the Museum in 1982.

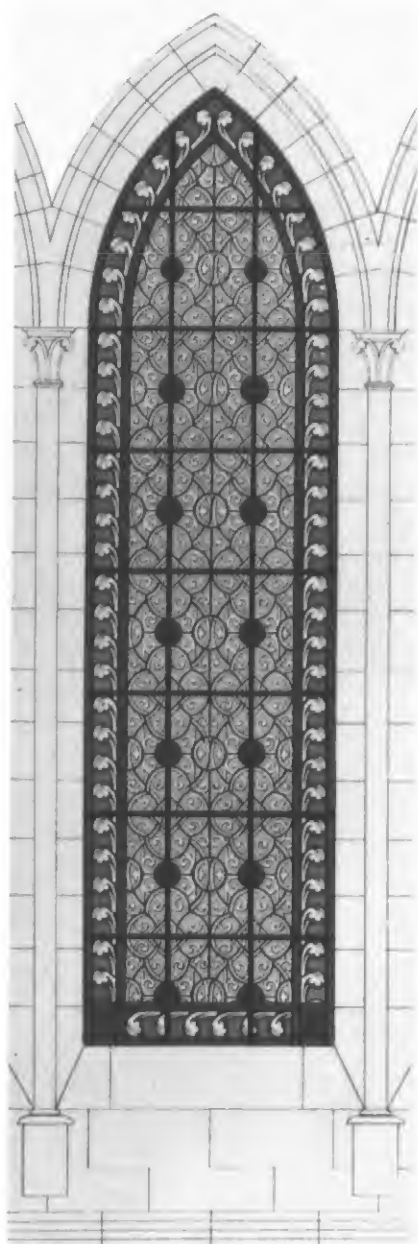
Original location: Branner’s suggestion that the financial difficulties of the chapter about 1260 motivated the use of

grisaille in the nave clerestory bays¹⁷ accords with the style displayed by the grisailles, their ornamental borders, and the rosettes above the lancets in situ, all of which compare favorably with other French glass of that period. In 1841 Martin and Cahier recorded sixteen different grisaille patterns in the cathedral, not all of which can be identified today in the windows of Saint-Étienne; unfortunately, they did not indicate in which bays these patterns were located.¹⁸ Thus it is not possible to say with complete confidence that the present disposition of the windows is the original arrangement. Based on the differences in size between the double-light bays of the lower clerestory (or inner ambulatory) and the triplets of the upper clerestory, as well as the general stylistic compatibility mentioned previously, one can say that it is probable that the glass currently in each of these areas was initially intended for that part of the building.

Two panels now at The Cloisters seem to have come from the clerestory at Bourges Cathedral. The first of the Cloisters grisaille panels in the catalogue to follow, No. 41, proves somewhat difficult to locate because of the restorations that have confused the pattern. It appears to be the same as the window shown on plate XXXI and Grisailles C(1) in Martin and Cahier 1841–44 (41/fig. 2) and corresponds to bay 216 in CV France, *Recensement II*, which simply records the grisailles in this bay as “anciennes.”¹⁹



41/fig. 2. Grisaille design from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Bourges (from Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, Grisailles C[1])



42/fig. 1. Grisaille lancet design from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Bourges (from Martin and Cahier 1841-44, vol. 2, pl. XXXII[5])

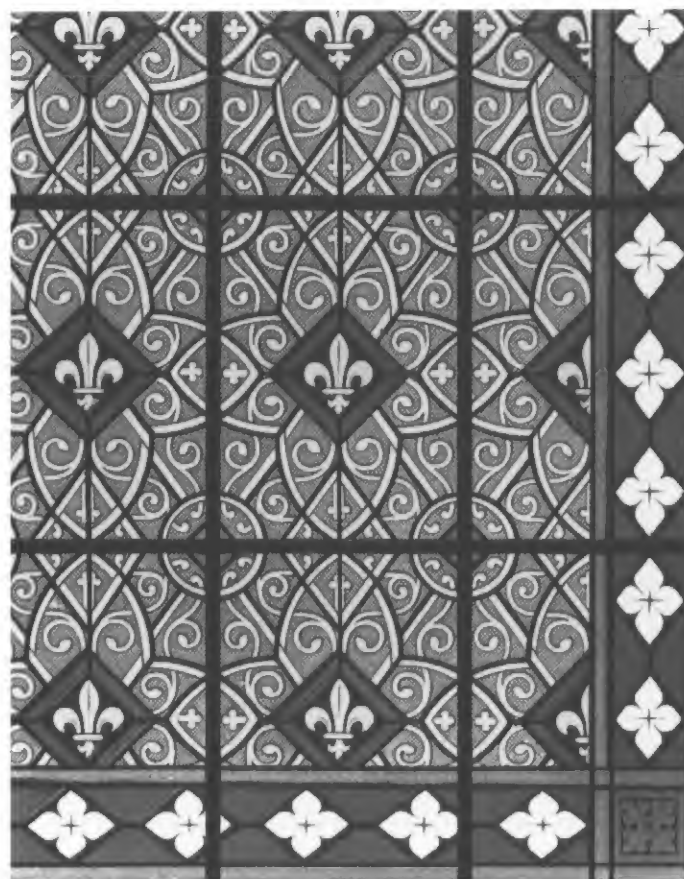
In fact, these three lancets contain numerous replaced pieces and some entirely restored panels. The type of this grisaille suggests a somewhat earlier dating than the other five panels catalogued here, a fact noted by Lillich, who stated that the earliest grisaille designs occur on the south side.²⁰ Branner places the beginning of the nave clerestory construction at c.1245, in the very bay where grisailles that match No. 41 are now located.²¹

The second of the clerestory panels in the catalogue, No. 42, is clearly recognizable on Martin and Cahier's plate XXXII, the fifth pattern (42/fig. 1). It appears in CV France, *Recensement II*, as bay 224.²² In its present state more than half the glass in the three lancets of this bay is modern. The Cloisters panel could easily have been removed from the cathedral during the restoration that began in 1885.

One of the Cloisters panels, No. 43, and three fragments from another window, Nos. 44-46, come from the lower

clerestory, or upper ambulatory as it is called. Panel No. 43 is in remarkably good condition and corresponds to the pattern reproduced on plates XXXIII(H) and Grisailles A(3) of Martin and Cahier (43/fig. 1); it appears in CV France, *Recensement II*, as bay 126.²³ The three fragments, Nos. 44, 45, and 46, are not as easy to locate. They come from the bay represented on plate Grisailles B(3) in Martin and Cahier (44/fig. 1), which seems to correspond to bay 121 in CV France, *Recensement II* (though no reference to Martin and Cahier is given for that bay).²⁴ To add to the confusion, the scale of the Martin and Cahier engraving indicates that this bay is a clerestory window, yet the present shape of the lancet and the designation in CV France, *Recensement II*, are those of an upper ambulatory window. As noted in the *Recensement II*, the acanthus borders surrounding the grisaille lancets in situ are quite well preserved. Although these acanthus borders in bay 121 correspond to those shown in Martin and Cahier plate Grisailles B(3), the barring is different. The window is now composed of four compartments across, while in the engraving there are only three, suggesting that the location of this glass may have been changed, from one of the clerestory triplets to one of the upper ambulatory doublets.

Photographic reference: Individual negative numbers are given with each catalogue entry.



43/fig. 1. Grisaille design from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Bourges (from Martin and Cahier 1841-44, vol. 2, Grisailles A[3])

Bibliography: Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pp. 301–2, pls. XXXI–XXXIII, and Grisailles A, B, and C, records the glass before restoration and when the panels were still in situ; Acézat Sale 1969, lots 22 and 23, documents the sale of the pieces; Haselhorst 1974, supplement, pp. 42–44, inventories the window from which these panels come; *MMA Annual Report* 1983, p. 41, notes the purchase of the panel by the Museum; CV France, *Recensement* II, pp. 176–78 and 180, catalogues the grisaille windows remaining in situ; Brisac 1986, pp. 3, 6–7, 15, and 18, reviews the campaigns of restoration at Bourges, during which the panels were taken out; CV US, *Checklist* I, pp. 101–2, gives basic information and bibliography; [New York 1999, pp. 110–11, reviews the attribution to Bourges and presents a collections history].

41. Clerestory Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 59.7 × 47 cm (23½ × 18½ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.433.1)

Ill. nos. 41, 41/a, 41/figs. 1 and 2

Description and composition: Located at the central side edges of the panel, two half quatrefoils each contain a central ruby red circular half boss from which issue four spiraling foliate tendrils. Diagonal straps connect these bosses to red halved canted squares at center top and bottom, forming a diamond shape. A half circle frames each halved canted square. Two undulating straps run from top to bottom, circumscribing the half quatrefoils and intersecting with a central canted square containing a red boss painted to reveal a quatrefoil. The corners are marked by diagonal straps. The background of colorless glass with a greenish tint is painted with broadly defined crosshatching. The leading follows only one side of the straps.

This panel illustrates a portion of a larger pattern in which the side half quatrefoils, when complete, formed the center of the composition. It was originally placed in one of the three lancets of the easternmost nave bay on the south side of the clerestory at Bourges Cathedral, bay 216; 41/fig. 1.

Condition: The panel has been considerably altered in restoration. It has been bisected vertically, and its lateral edges have been leaded together as a center line. As a result the quarries now bulge toward the center instead of the toward the sides. During the panel's most recent restoration, which probably occurred when it was in Leprévost's atelier, the assembly designation "57" was painted on fifteen pieces of the glass. Prior to that stage in the work, however, the panel was likely determined to be too time consuming to repair and a new one made to

replace it in the cathedral; the rejected glass, thus, became part of the master's own collection. Subsequent repairs were hasty and inept. The putty mat for artificial aging was smeared on by hand in an obvious hurry, and the leading is crude.²⁵ When the glass was reassembled, other changes, such as the "stopgap" center motif and the substitute red bosses (those now in the cathedral window are blue), were made. The original pieces show pitting on the back and crusts of dirt and corrosion on the front. Two pieces of the strap, a darker greenish shade, appear to date from an earlier, perhaps eighteenth-century repair. Records indicate that an old label marked "B 18" was once attached to the glass.

Style and date: There are a number of features in this panel, despite its confused arrangement, that confirm a date early in the building campaign of the nave. The foliage is centrally arranged around the colored rosette that once formed the center boss and grows outward in eight spiraling tendrils to the corners of the panel. Both the centripetal organization of the foliage and the colored boss call attention to the panel-centered composition of the window. Lillich has noted that these characteristics, as well as the bulging quarries, are typical of grisaille design in the mid-thirteenth century²⁶ and appeared in grisailles even before the middle of the century. However, the dry, knobby foliage of this panel can hardly be compared with the lush – almost ready to open – palmette buds at the former abbey church of Saint-Père at Chartres, which Lillich dates c.1240–45. These emaciated vines are later, c.1250, following by five years the start of Branner's building campaign of c.1245 in the upper nave.²⁷

Photographic reference: Negatives 229422 (pre-restoration) and 266709 (post-restoration).

41/a.
Restoration
chart





41. Grisaille Panel. France, Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, nave clerestory, c. 1250

42. Clerestory Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 58 × 44 cm (22 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.204.4)

Ill. nos. 42, 42/a, 42/1, 42/fig. 1

Description and composition: Located at the central side edges of the panel, two colored bosses, one cool pink, the other ruby red, are painted to reveal a quatrefoil design. Bulbous tendrils of foliage issue from the sides of the red bosses and diverge outward as two vines. Quartered quatrefoils of strapwork delineate the corners of the panel. Bulged strapwork issuing from the corners is caught in a central ring that forms the core of the design. The background of colorless glass with a greenish tint is lightly painted with crosshatching. One side only of the straps is leaded, in a predominantly alternating pattern, and major leads converge vertically and horizontally at the center ring.

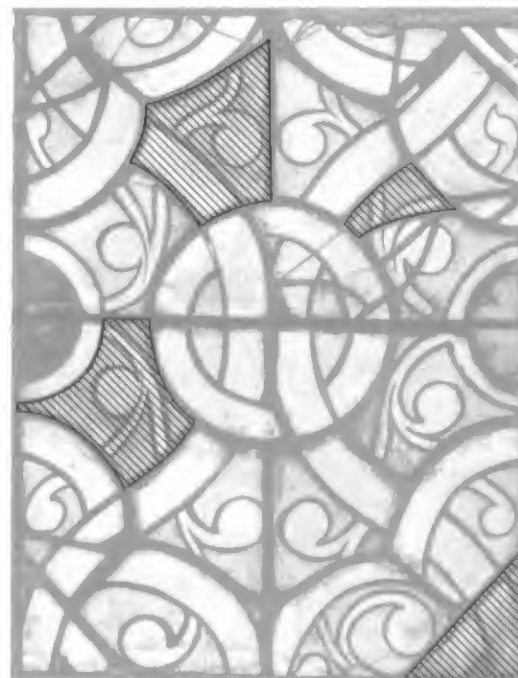
The composition follows exactly that of the lancet illustrated by Martin and Cahier, although the Cloisters panel has been cut down at top and bottom.²⁸

Condition: The panel is in an excellent state of preservation. Only four pieces of the pattern have been replaced,



42/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration

42/a.
Restoration
chart



and the work was carefully executed. On the back the artificial aging has been floated on the glass rather than hand-rubbed (see No. 41).²⁹ This glass must have been intended for reinsertion in the window and then withheld by the restorer. The rosette on the right side of the panel is made of a cool pink rather than a red piece of glass. It is lightly pitted on the back and has a film of patination on the front. The pink piece is obviously old glass and is either a late medieval restoration or a stopgap inserted by Leprévost. A very old label marked "12" (visible in the pre-restoration view of the glass) was stuck on the upper-right corner of the panel. An additional old label is affixed to the red boss and bears the Acézat sale lot number "22-7." (See 42/1.)

Style and date: Several characteristics of this panel proclaim for it a date late in the evolution of the clerestory glazing program at Bourges Cathedral. Courseness of representation is evident in the bulbous seed pods and in the border of the bay (42/fig. 1), where we see a descendant of the "broccoli" pattern transformed into a single bloated leaf. This grisaille is transitional in evolution: although it has not yet become vertical in the orientation of its foliage, the crosshatching of its background is no longer painted in black trace paint but is done instead with mat, thus creating a much lighter pattern that has rubbed off in some areas. This technique anticipates the colorless grounds of glass employed at the end of the century.³⁰ Branner believed that the nave was completed by 1255.³¹ On the basis of style and chronology, c. 1260–65 would appear to be a logical time frame for the execution of the windows from which this panel came.

Photographic reference: Negatives 228943 (pre-restoration) and 266708 (post-restoration).



42. Grisaille Panel. France, Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, clerestory, 1260–65



43. Grisaille Panel. France, Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Etienne, upper ambulatory, c.1260-70

43. Upper Ambulatory Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 70 × 46.5 cm (27½ × 18¼ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.204.5)

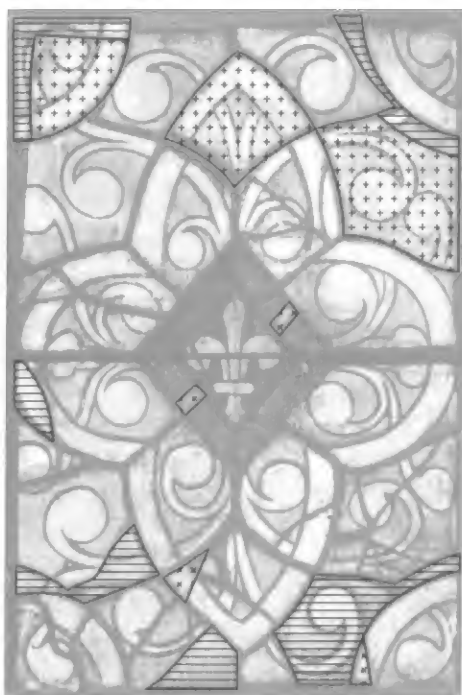
Ill. nos. 43, 43/a, 43/1, 43/fig. 1

Description and composition: A central lozenge is composed of a yellow fleur-de-lys framed by a border of bright red glass from all four sides of which issues bifurcated foliage. Bulbous tendrils of foliage unfold within and beneath a quatrefoil whose strapwork is alternately pointed (vertical) and rounded (horizontal). The corners are comprised of quartered circles defined by straps, each of which encloses a single bulbous tendril. The background of colorless glass with greenish and bluish tints is painted with broadly defined crosshatching. Occasional trace lines of reddish brown paint appear within the bulbous tendrils. An assembly mark in reddish brown paint, shaped like an elongated "A" with multiple cross bars, is in the upper-right corner.

Though this panel continues to be centripetal in design with bifurcated branches of foliage issuing from all four sides of the central boss, there is a definite vertical orientation in the composition, furnished by the yellow fleur-de-lys in the central lozenge. The foliage in this panel, as in No. 42, is of the bulbous type, and the crosshatched background is clearly delineated. The bright red border of the lozenge agrees with the color shown in the engraving published in Martin and Cahier (43/fig. 1).³² As with the fragments of Bourges grisailles described by Lillich, this panel does not exactly follow the design represented in Martin and Cahier.³³ The corner pieces here have been altered, which accounts for the loss of the blue triangles in the original pattern, and the lateral lobes differ substan-



43/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration



43/a.
Restoration chart

tially from those in the pattern illustrated by Martin and Cahier. These small inaccuracies by Martin and Cahier, however, are understandable given the inaccessibility of the windows. It is possible that the vertical edges of the Cloisters panel were trimmed, thus rupturing the original lead pattern of pointed lateral lobes.

Condition: In general the panel is in excellent condition, with all of the original pieces displaying a thick and even layer of corrosion on the back. The front of the panel also displays evidence of consistent weathering. The glass is extremely uneven, and a number of the edges have pulled away from the leads, all of which display old grozing. The piece was evidently not repaired when it was removed from the cathedral, since all of the fill glass, present in the panel when it was acquired by the Museum, was colorless and unpainted (43/1). It is possible that these insertions were not made before Acézat obtained the panel. The number "35/13," similar to markings present on Nos. 44–46, is found near the lower-right corner; this may have been an inventory number from the Leprévost sale. [John Nussbaum, in 1986, added a saddle bar in the center and new solders, replaced the colorless glass fill

with newly painted pieces to continue the foliage pattern, and framed the panel.]

Style and date: Like No. 42, this panel exhibits the bulbous foliage that suggests a date in the 1260s. Whereas new tendencies in grisaille design were exhibited in that example by a lighter emphasis in the crosshatched ground, here the heraldic character of the center boss indicates an emphasis toward a definite verticality. Although no documents for this part of the building program specifically mention royal donations, this panel is not the sole instance at Bourges Cathedral of the comparable use of royal arms. In bay 122, two bays to the east of this one, the two lancets have wide borders, one with fleurs-de-lys and the other with castles.³⁴ The simply designed, virtually unpainted rosette border of this window is another reason for dating the panel well after the completion of the building, to between 1260–65. Nearly half of the glass in the lancets in this bay of the cathedral is modern.

Photographic reference: Negatives 232123 (pre-restoration) and 253434 (post-restoration).

44–46. THREE UPPER AMBULATORY GRISAILLE PIECES

Rectangular panels: 29 × 45 cm (11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 17 $\frac{3}{4}$ in.)

29 × 46 cm (11 $\frac{3}{8}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

28.7 × 46 cm (11 $\frac{5}{16}$ × 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.204.7–9)

Ill. nos. 44, 44/a, 44/fig. 1; No. 45, 45/a; No. 46, 46/a

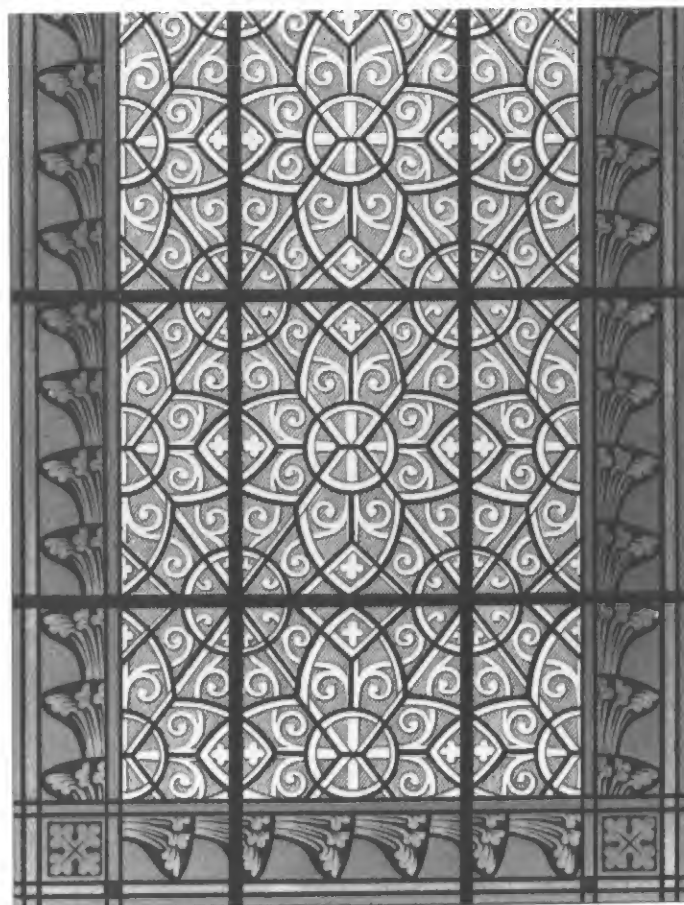
Description and composition: The composition of each panel is centripetal with the foliage extending outward from two main stems running vertically and horizontally. The straps run diagonally outward from the center ring toward the corners of the panel, and a second system of strapwork defines the four-lobed star that surrounds the center ring and that does not show on these fragments. At top and bottom is strapwork composing half a canted square. The background of colorless glass with a greenish tint is cross-hatched, and the straps are leaded on one side only.

Each of these three pieces was once a part of the grisaille window pattern published in 1841 by Martin and Cahier (44/fig. 1);³⁵ each is a fragment of the center of the original panel comprising the middle ring motif and some of its surrounding foliage.

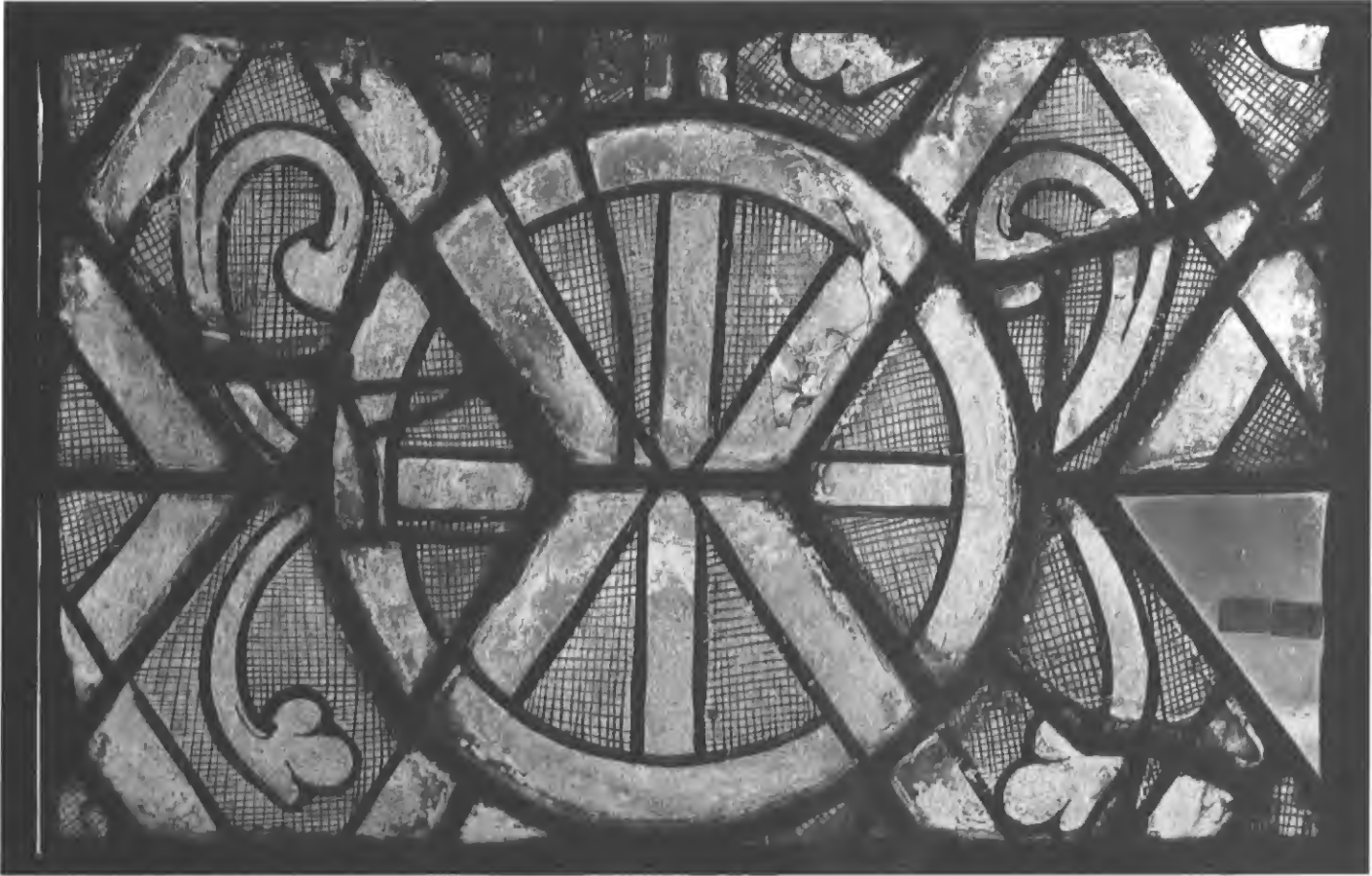
Condition: All three pieces have a whitish brown deposit of corrosion on the outer surface of the glass, a normal effect of condensation collected by the projecting flange of the lead. The inner surfaces display layers of dirt and crusts of corrosion. As in some of the other examples in this group, each of these panels has a number, “35/2,”

“35/3,” and “35/4,” painted in white on the glass, which may have been an inventory number from the Leprévost sale. Labels bearing the lot numbers from the Acézat sale, “22–2,” “22–3,” and “22–4,” appear on each panel. Modern glass was added prior to the Acézat sale as stop-gaps for missing pieces.

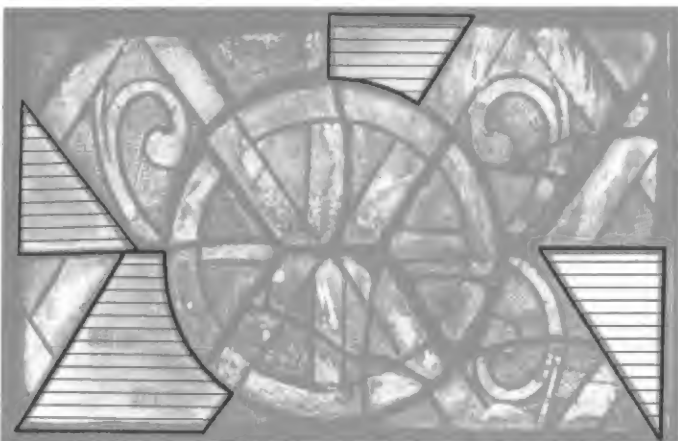
Style and date: Both the style and the location of this bay (bay 121), the fourth from the west, suggest that it was glazed reasonably early in the nave program. The foliage is composed of either triple-lobed acanthus buds or single-lobed buds, turned at the tip; although Martin and Cahier show only the latter type in their engraving of the window (43/fig. 1), in actuality both types were used.³⁶ Such foliage, with the trace line indicating the turn of the tip, is typical of grisaille foliage design of about 1250. If this were not reason enough to indicate an early date for the glass in this bay, the particularly lush example of a “broccoli” type border reproduced by Martin and Cahier provides an overwhelming argument in its favor. This type of border seems to have been invented about 1245 in Paris at the Sainte-Chapelle. Here the carefully painted sprays of foliage are far removed from the mechanical rendering of the rosette border in Martin and Cahier 1841–44, *Grisailles* A(3), seen in No. 43 (see 43/fig. 1).



44/fig. 1. Grisaille design from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, Bourges (from Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Grisailles* B[3])



44 (*above*). Grisaille Panel. France, Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, upper ambulatory, c.1250
 45 (*below*). Grisaille Panel. France, Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, upper ambulatory, c.1250



44/a & 45/a. Restoration charts



46/a. Restoration chart

Branner's suggestion of financial difficulty about 1260, which would have slowed down the work of finishing the facade of the cathedral,³⁷ can be translated in terms of the glazing program of the upper nave to have been an absolute halt in production. As shown by these grisailles, the glass made and installed up to and including the fourth bay from the west in the nave, bays 121 and 122 in the upper ambulatory, and bays 221 and 222 in the clerestory, is approximately a decade earlier in style than that made for the bays west of this dividing line. This observation would suggest that glazing stopped in the upper nave at this point and did not resume until after the sculptural



46. Grisaille Panel. France, Bourges, Cathedral of Saint-Étienne, upper ambulatory, c. 1250

campaigns for the western portals were well under way.³⁸ In fact, these portals, with the exception of some of the archivolt figures, may have been finished much earlier, and the financial difficulties of the 1260s may have resulted from the tremendous drain on resources this required. In any case, the 1260s saw the completion of the upper nave glazing by a team not as gifted as the earlier masters but nevertheless qualified to finish the job.

Photographic reference: No. 44, negative 228946;
No. 45, negative 228947; No. 46, negative 228948.

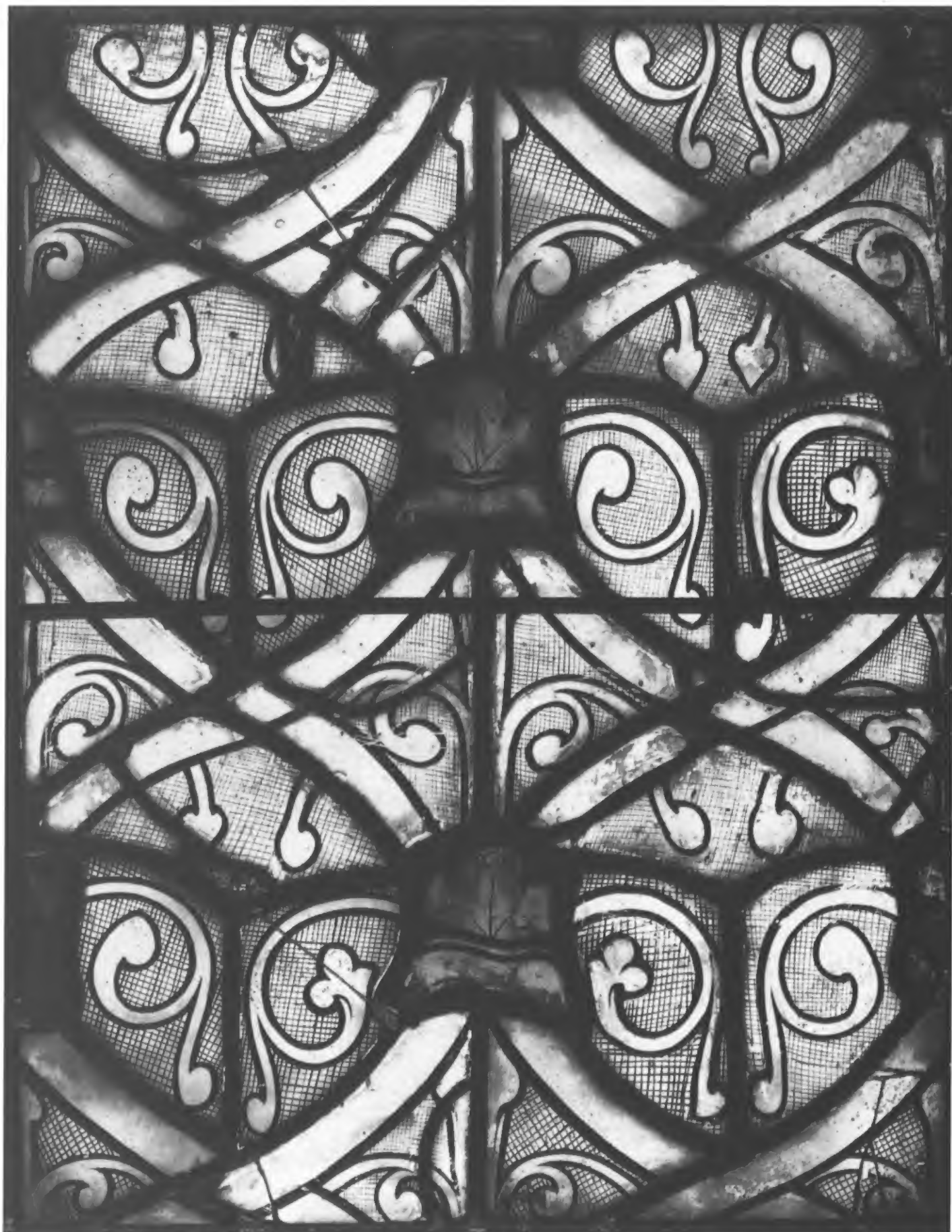
NOTES

1. Branner 1962, pp. 66–72.
2. Ibid., p. 67 n. 4, citing Raynal 1844–47, vol. 2, p. 325, no. 4, and de Boissoudy 1861, p. 415, after Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 1274, fol. 1v (described by Branner 1962, p. 195).
3. Branner 1962, p. 72.
4. Ibid., pp. 68 and 70.
5. Lillich 1973, p. 72, and Branner 1962, p. 63.
6. See Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 139, where he attributes the rosettes to the last choir master and dates them c.1235. There are several artists represented, and a mid-century date of 1250–60 would be more logical.
7. Brisac 1986, pp. 3 and 6.
8. Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pp. 301 n. 1 and 302, as published in Lillich 1973, p. 70 and n. 7, dismissed the grisailles with the following comments: “Le style de ces grisailles n’atteint point, il est vrai, la perfection que nous avons admirée dans les roses du rond-point. . . . Nous ne voudrions point affirmer cependant que ce parti [i.e., the nave grisailles] ait été celui du puissant génie qui a conçu Saint-Etienne de Bourges. Car . . . l’architecture de la nef est évidemment postérieure au moins de quelques années à celle du chœur; et nous ne prétendons même pas assurer que les grisailles soient précisément contemporaines des lancettes que les encadrent.”
9. Brisac 1986, p. 6.
10. Marquis des Méloizes 1900, pp. 283–84.
11. Lillich 1973, p. 72.
12. On the development of the archeological window and the major restoration projects of the nineteenth century in France, see Brisac 1985, pp. 146 and 149–53.
13. See Roussel n.d., vol. 3, for the archeological windows of Leprévost and esp. pls. 120–26 for some of his grisaille glass.
14. See Lafond 1978, pp. 172–75. Several grisaille panels in the Museum’s collection bear what seem to be Leprévost markings; see Nos. 21, 43–46, and 47.
15. The eminent scholar of stained glass (and glass painter as well), Lucien Magne (1849–1916), wrote to the Monuments Historiques that “recently, after the deaths of Didron and Leprévost, very important acquisitions could have been made.” Magne had organized the stained glass exhibited at the World’s Fair of 1900 from the collections of such glass painters, among them Édouard-Amédée Didron (1836–1902) and Leprévost. Lafond 1978, p. 175 n. 225, citing Lucien Magne, letter of 11 March 1903, Paris, Archives Nationales, Commission des Monuments Historiques de France.
16. On Michel Acézat, see Lafond 1978, pp. 174–75, and J. J. K. Ray in Acézat Sale 1969.
17. Branner 1962, pp. 68 and 70. [For an alternative discussion of the relationship of cost and the use of grisaille, see Lillich 1984, p. 218, and Gage 1982, pp. 36–58.]
18. Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pls. XXXI, XXXII, and XXXIII, and Grisailles A, B, and C, which illustrate the grisaille windows without noting bay location.
19. CV France, *Recensement* II, p. 180.
20. Lillich 1973, p. 72.
21. Branner 1962, pp. 30, 64, and 72.
22. CV France, *Recensement* II, p. 180.
23. Ibid., p. 176.
24. Ibid., p. 178.
25. This kind of aging is done by mixing regular mat paint that is vitreous with white putty, which gives color and density. This mixture is then liquefied with oil or water, rubbed on the glass (in this case smeared on by hand), and fired. It will adhere permanently and is quite convincing when well done. Such crude work as seen in this panel was not typical of Leprévost’s shop. Was this an apprentice’s piece that got lost in storage? Or was there an impatient buyer who changed his mind? Certainly there was no market for grisaille in the nineteenth century. Perhaps Acézat reassembled the pieces much later.
26. Lillich 1978, pp. 26–29.
27. Branner 1962, pp. 30, 64, and 72.
28. Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pl. XXXII(5).
29. See n. 25 above.
30. The use of a colorless ground in grisaille windows was not widespread until the end of the thirteenth century and the invention of silver stain. However, there are isolated earlier examples, such as the set of panels from the Château de Bouvreuil in Rouen that are now in the Musée du Moyen-Âge, Thermes de Cluny, and are dated 1260–70. See Lafond 1953, pp. 337–40.
31. Branner 1962, pp. 63–72.
32. See Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pl. XXXIII(H) and Grisailles A(3).
33. Lillich 1973, p. 72.
34. Noted in CV France, *Recensement* II, p. 176, and Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, pl. XXXIII(A) and Grisailles A(1).
35. Ibid., Grisailles B(3).
36. Ibid.
37. Branner 1962, pp. 68 and 70.
38. Ibid., p. 72, gives the date for the portal sculpture as c.1255–65. See also Bayard 1976, p. 132, who dates the major campaigns much earlier, in the 1230s and 1240s.

47. GRISAILLE PANEL

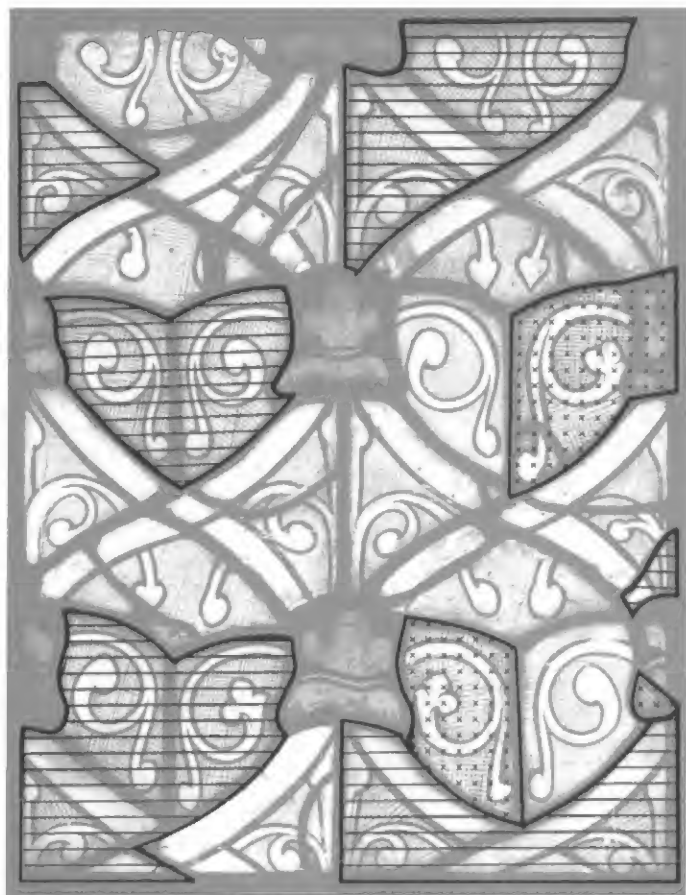
France
1260–70

History of the glass: The early history of this panel remains obscure, and another window that repeats this pattern has not yet been identified. How long Michel Acézat (1878–1944), the Parisian glazier and restorer, had it in his collection before his death in 1944 is unknown. A white painted number, “35/12,” similar to markings found on Nos. 21 and 43–46, may have been an inventory number from the atelier estate sale of the glazier and restorer Charles Leprévost (d. 1903), suggesting that Acézat may have bought the panel there.¹ At the sale of Acézat’s collection in 1969, the glass was purchased by Michel Meyer, a Parisian dealer, who later sold it to the Zurich dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler. It was acquired in 1982 by the Museum for The Cloisters Collection.



47. Grisaille Panel. France, 1260-70

Original location, style, and date: In her article on thirteenth-century grisaille glass in the nave clerestory at Bourges Cathedral, which included bay 220,² Meredith Lillich has suggested a date in the 1260s, if not later, for fragments from these windows now in the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York.³ Though the pattern in the Cloisters panel is not as tightly organized as the pattern of the window at Bourges as represented by Martin and Cahier (41/fig. 2),⁴ there are certain similarities that suggest a comparable date. The main stalk in the Bourges window extends from one compartment to another, but the leaf tendrils remain rigidly confined within the compartment in which they originate. In the Museum's panel most of the tendrils cross under the straps. The pattern of a central stem and subordinate branches, an idea that would dominate grisaille design in the 1270s, is evident in this panel, although the stem is not continuous. Rather, it appears to form a calyx below the blue boss, almost as though the boss were thought of as a flower that in its turn grew another stem. The leaf tendrils, moreover, turn downward rather than grow upward. This transitional design has not developed enough verticality of central-stem continuity to be dated in the 1270s, but it fits more comfortably into the decade of the 1260s.



47/a. Restoration chart

Bibliography: Acézat Sale 1969, lot 22, notes the glass as "XIII^e-XIV^e" century; *MMA Annual Report* 1983, p. 41, reports the acquisition of the panel by the Museum; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 102, ill., publishes the panel for the first time and gives basic information and bibliography; [New York 1999, p. 112, reviews dating and collections history].

Panel from a Grisaille Window

Rectangular panel: 60 × 45.8 cm (23 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 18 in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.433.2)

Ill. nos. 47, 47/a

Description: Undulating strapwork clasped by bosses of bright medium cobalt blue glass, painted in a trilobed foliate shape, repeats at each side to form a double-columned, interlaced pattern. Three stems, one in the center of the panel and one at each edge, rise through the foliate bosses. Foliate tendrils terminating in rather emaciated palmette buds (both trilobed and single headed) issue from each vertical stem and curve downward. The background of colorless glass with a greenish tint is painted with broadly defined crosshatching. The straps are leaded on one side only.

Condition: Ten pieces of the grisaille pattern have been replaced in an undocumented restoration. The restored pieces, however, have the same surface character as some of the replacements in other Cloisters panels from the Cathedral of Saint-Étienne at Bourges (Nos. 41–46). The glass itself has a greenish cast and is without luster on the back, as though it had been rubbed with emery paper. A putty mat has been floated on the back surface, a treatment similar to that used on No. 42, to imitate aging. Paint has been spattered on the front surface of these new pieces to imitate pitting. The old glass is lightly pitted on the back and has an even surface of corrosion above the central saddle bar. The blue glass shows very little deterioration.

Photographic reference: Negative 229423.

NOTES

1. See Nos. 41–46 for a set of six grisaille panels that Acézat probably acquired from Leprévost and that appear to have a related provenance.
2. CV France, *Recensement II*, p. 180, bay 220; Lillich 1973, p. 70, cites this location as bay K.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
4. The pattern of the Bourges grisaille is illustrated in Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, *Grisailles C*, as cited by Lillich 1973, p. 70 n. 6.

48–55. EIGHT PANELS FROM A GRISAILLE WINDOW

France (Seine Maritime), Rouen, Château
de Bouvreuil, chapel
c.1265

Related material: France, Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, four lancets with grisaille framing saints Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist, and James; United States, New York, Corning, The Corning Museum of Glass, a group of unleaded fragments; Acézat Sale 1969, lot 20, a Rouen grisaille, current location unknown.

History of the glass: The history of these eight grisaille panels is well known through the work of the late Jean Lafond, who asserted that the provenance of the glass was "presque certain."¹ Early twentieth-century accounts placed the glass in the Chapel of the Ursulines at Rouen, a seventeenth-century structure built upon the site of the former royal Château de Bouvreuil. It has been suggested that these thirteenth-century panels were originally part of a chapel glazing in the chateau.²

The Château de Bouvreuil was constructed in 1205 by King Philip Augustus (r. 1179–1223). His grandson Louis IX (r. 1226–70) extended the city walls of Rouen to include the chateau. The structure, razed at the end of the sixteenth century, must have been extensive since three of its towers could still be seen early in the nineteenth century.³ In addition, vestiges of the Chapel of Saint-Giles, one of three in the chateau, were evident in the convent garden as late as the nineteenth century.⁴ The two other chapels, of unknown dates, were the Chapel of Saint-Remain, near the great hall, and the Chapel of Saint-Louis in the royal apartments.⁵ Though no documents mention stained glass in any of these chapels, as Lillich has observed, all the grisailles attributed to the royal chateau are "of an elegant Parisian court style," datable stylistically to the 1260s and are more than likely, therefore, to have been installed in one of the chapels under Saint Louis.⁶ Robert Branner has observed that after the king's return to France in 1254, following the Crusade, Louis turned his attention to the construction of a number of chapels in his various castles, notably Pontoise, Corbeil, and Senlis.⁷

Following the destruction of the chateau at the close of the sixteenth century, the Hôtel Mathan was built in 1610 on the same site.⁸ This structure was acquired in 1683 by the Bénédictines du Saint-Sacrement, with a new chapel added in 1687–89.⁹ Located on the rue Morand, this Benedictine convent was one of the last religious houses founded in Rouen. In spite of its short history, no foundation endured greater fluctuation of circumstances. The simple stone construction of the chapel probably saved the building from destruction when it burned in 1787.¹⁰ In 1792 the order was suppressed by

the Revolutionary government, and the chapel was closed, only to be reopened two years later under the direction of the Constitutional priests. Soon afterward the convent was converted into a thread mill. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the property and the chapel were taken over by Ursuline nuns.

By 1906 local publications associated the glazing of the Ursuline chapel (the glass was cited to be in the Rouennais collection of Albert Gorge) with the medieval chateau, a belief that is borne out stylistically.¹¹ In 1910 Lafond saw the panels in the Gorge collection.¹² Gorge had purchased the windows in 1905 from a "brocanteur" located on the rue Saint-Remain in Rouen.¹³ A short time after Lafond had seen the glass, Gorge sold the panels to the Parisian dealers Bacri Frères. The glazier Michel Acézat (1878–1944) purchased them from Bacri some time before 1935, when Lafond photographed a panel in Acézat's shop (48/a).¹⁴ The Museum's panels were purchased at the Acézat sale in 1969.¹⁵

Composition: At approximately the time during which this glass was made in the late 1260s, a new type of window, known as the band window, had already made its appearance at Tours.¹⁶ Such windows contain a horizontal band of scenes rendered in full color organized between fields of grisaille. Another set of panels, now at the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, and also attributed to the Château de Bouvreuil at Rouen, contains four seated figures set between colorless grisailles (48/fig. 1).¹⁷ Though the Cluny panels are no longer considered necessarily to have been part of an integral band-window program, this does not preclude the possibility that the Cloisters grisailles might have been. The stylistic similarity of the Cloisters panels to the grisailles of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Sées, a Norman church completely filled with band windows, has already been noted.¹⁸ Whether these grisailles were originally set in a band arrangement or whether they framed an apse of colored glass is a matter for speculation.¹⁹ It is certain, however, that they once belonged in tall, narrow lancets of the Rayonnant type and that the castles of the borders were a sign of their royal patron and not yet a conventional border motif.²⁰

In fact, these panels are an excellent example of a transitional stage of grisaille development between the Saint-Urbain panels (No. 56A–C) and those that can be attributed to Sées (Nos. 59 and 60). The colored fillets, so prominent a feature of the Saint-Urbain glass, have disappeared in the Rouen group. Although the colorless straps remain, they now function as a centralized rather than a serpentine pattern, while the foliage grows out from almost a central, continuously rising stem. Only the bifurcation below the topmost colored boss suggests a discontinuation. Color in these panels is restricted to the large bosses and the border. The final step would be taken at



48/fig. 1. *St. Peter and St. Paul with Grisaille Panels*. France, Rouen, Château de Bouvreuil, chapel, c. 1265–70. Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris

Sées some five years later, when the colored boss, or *fermaillet*, was to be centrally located so that the stem traversed the dividing iron. Also at Sées, the palmette buds, which appear here in concert with naturalized ivy leaves, would be eschewed in favor of accurately rendered botanical specimens.

Style and date: The foliage in these panels, still placed on the traditional crosshatched ground, is painted with exceptional subtlety. Hair-thin lines delineate the veins of the ivy leaves, and the tiny spurs at the stem joint suggest the observation of nature. The same can be said for the slender spur-arrows that embellish the related Cluny grisailles (48/fig. 1). Subtle differences in the placement of the leaves and palmettes avoid monotony, and there is an energy and vitality to the handling of the brush. The center bosses are created with a grayish light blue that repeats the blue of the borders and frames the light yellow castles, while the leaves are a soft, streaky light red. The white fillets have a pale, creamy brown tint. Most of the castles, as in the Cluny set, are distinctively ornamented

with ringed oculi that flank the diminutive portals. There is an elegance to the Bouvreuil grisailles not found in other examples of the mid-1260s, which suggests not only a royal workshop but also one emanating from Paris.²¹

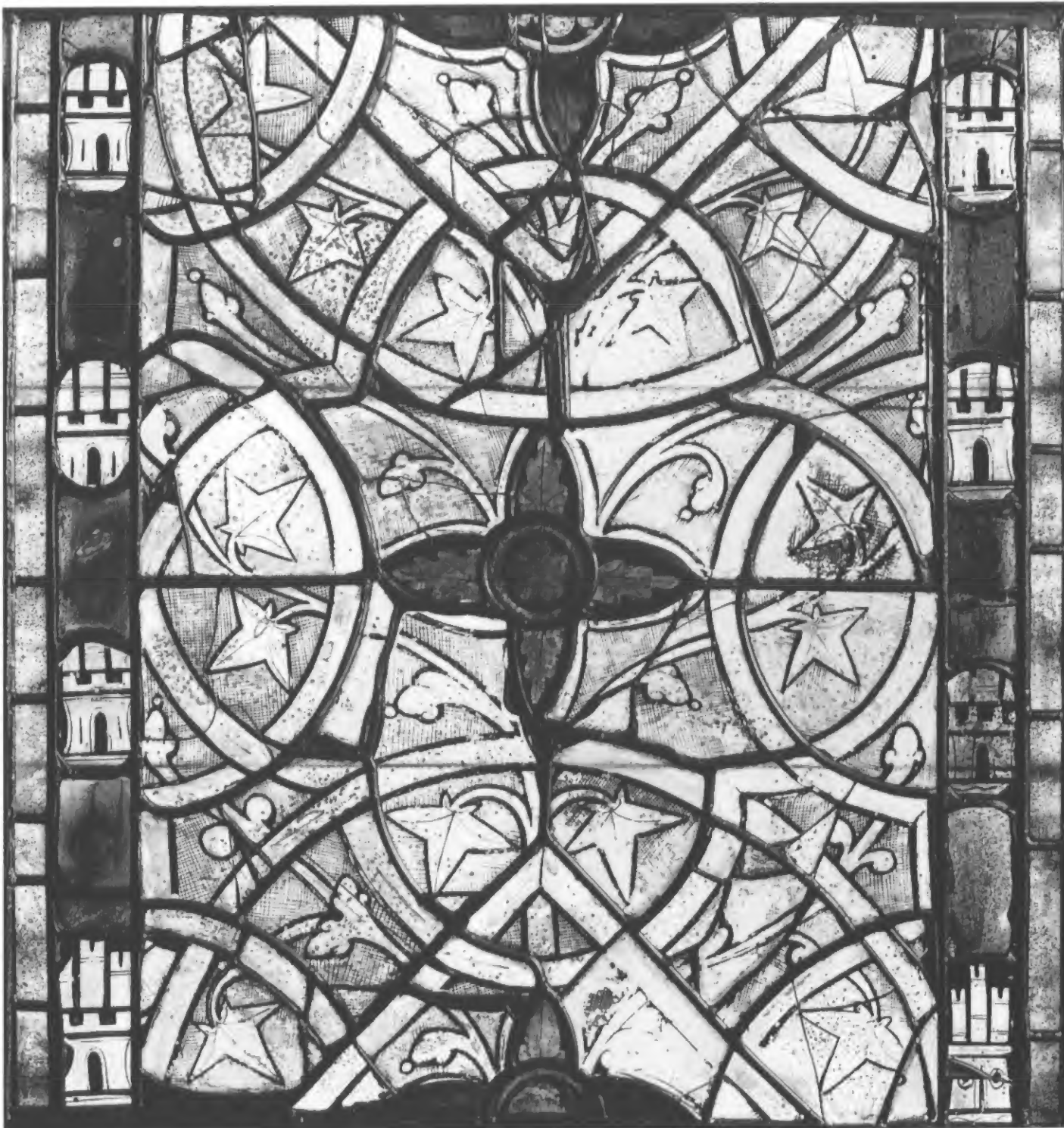
Bibliography: Aubé 1906, pp. 165–67; “Verrières anciennes” 1906, p. 444; Lafond 1953, pp. 337–41, ill., gives provenance; Acézat Sale 1969, lots 19 and 25, includes the eight panels and one other from another provenance; New York 1971, no. 11; Hayward 1971–72, p. 118, analyzes the foliate pattern; Lillich 1973, p. 75, discusses the Cloisters panels within the context of those at the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris; Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 86–89, compares the style to that of the glass at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Sées and at other Norman sites; CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 102, gives basic information and bibliography; [Lillich 1994, p. 65; Timothy B. Husband in Carboni et al. 2001, p. 35 (illustrates No. 48)].

48. Grisaille Panel

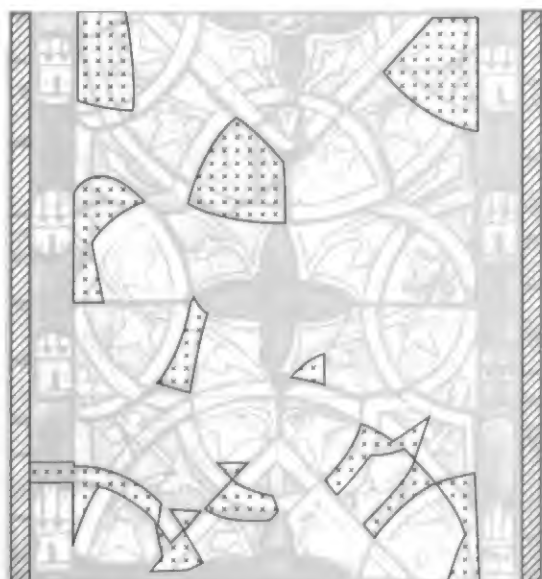
Rectangular panel: 59.8 × 57.5 cm (23 $\frac{13}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.2)

Ill. nos. 48, 48/a, 48/1, 48/fig. 1

Description: A central grayish light blue boss painted to reveal a cinquefoil inscribed within a circle is surrounded by four streaky ruby red leaves accented by veins drawn with thin lines of trace paint to form a quatrefoil. Two halves of this same central *fermaillet* appear on axis at the top and bottom edges of the panel. A central stem rises through the *fermaillets* and from it issues thin foliate tendrils that terminate in either palmette buds or ivy leaves. The palmette buds are distinguished by three leaves, many of which carry a single berry at the tip of the central leaf. Each ivy leaf has five pointed lobes, three prominent ones with two small ones at the base of the stem; these pointed lobes are accentuated by veins delineated in thin, light trace line. At both the top and bottom of the panel, a strapwork half circle surrounds a strapwork half canted square; both strapwork forms intersect a large central strapwork quatrefoil, which itself surrounds the central *fermaillet*. This central strapwork quatrefoil is intersected by two smaller half circles on the lateral edges of the panel. Four quartered circles in the corners of the panel are linked by colorless fillets to the smaller half circles and complete the grisaille pattern. The background of colorless glass with a greenish tint is painted with tightly and finely defined crosshatching. The strapwork is leaded on one side only. The panel is framed vertically by fillets of the same grayish light blue glass as the central boss, alternating with eight light golden yellow medallions representing castles.



48. Grisaille Panel. France, Rouen, Château de Bouvreil, chapel, c. 1265

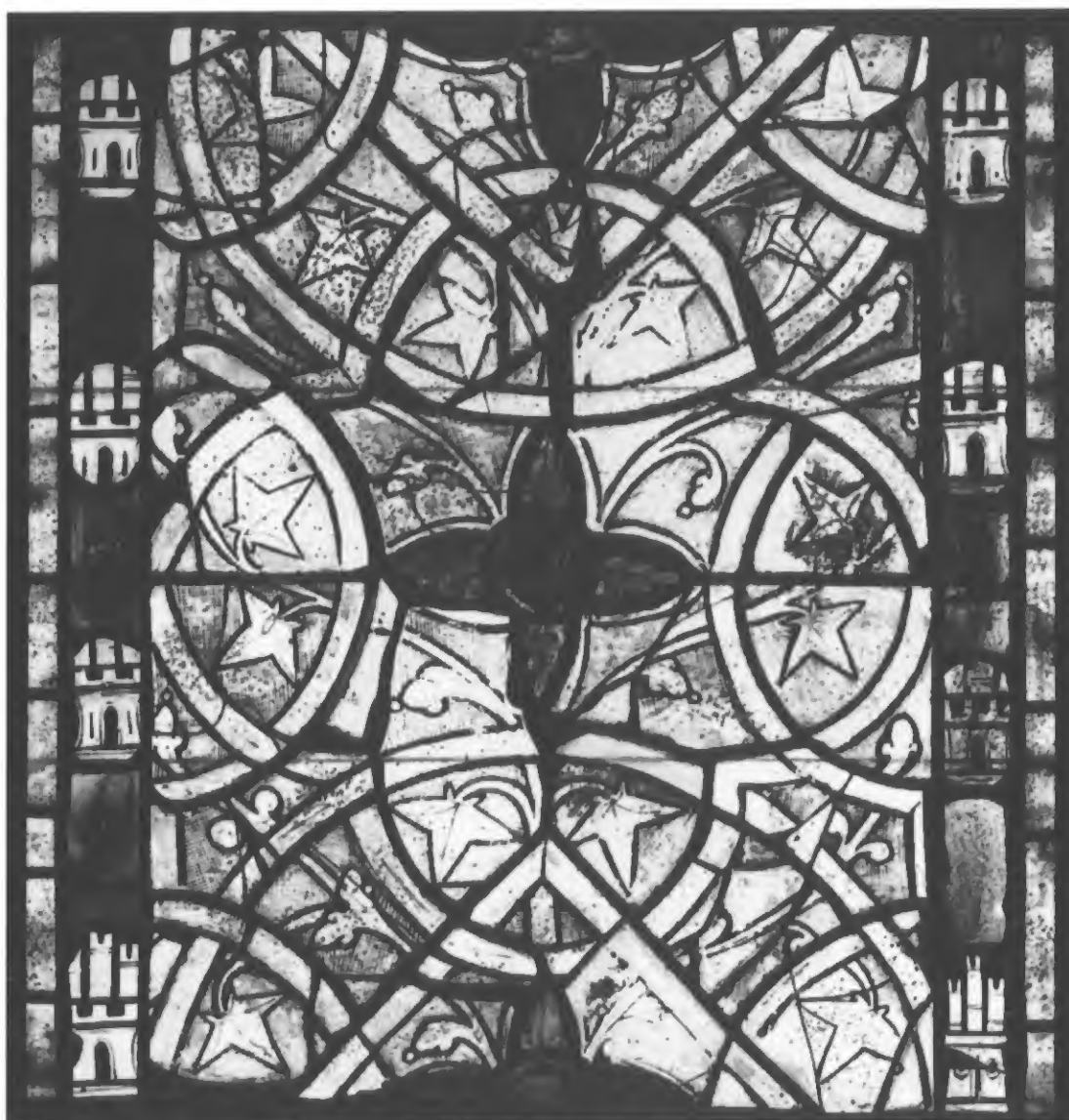


48/a.
Restoration
chart

was out of its leads there was evidence of regrozing on a number of pieces. Nine stopgaps and three replacements indicate that the panel has been submitted to at least two and probably three previous restorations. Two of the blue border pieces on the left have pontile-iron scars, a characteristic that is also found in the set of panels now in the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, but rarely seen elsewhere.²² As in all eight panels, the old glass here is evenly pitted on the exterior with deep, widely spaced craters, and the interior face has a grayish brown corrosion skin. Also evident here as well as throughout the panels are repairs made by the copper-foil method to all the ungrozed cracks in the glass to preserve the original graphic of the leading. Museum records indicate that at the time of acquisition the panel bore a sticker reading "19-4" at bottom center and the number "251" in white chalk on the right border.

Condition: Except for releading, the only additions made to this panel in the last restoration, which took place in 1971, were the lateral break-out fillets. When the glass

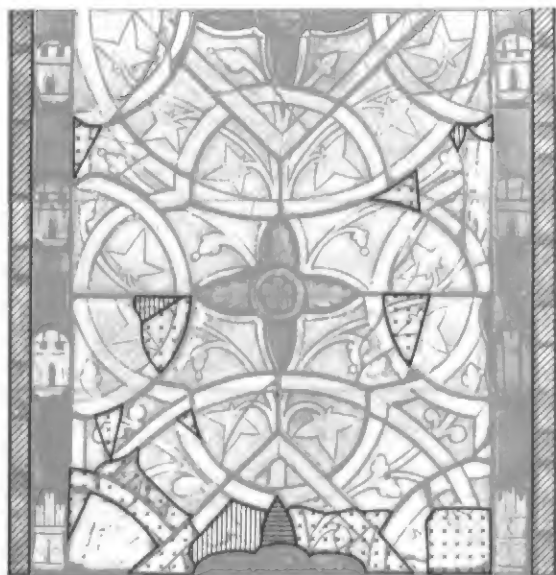
Photographic reference: Negative 196805. The photograph reproduced in No. 48/1, showing the panel in 1935, was made by Jean Lafond and is the property of his estate.



48/1. Panel while in
the collection of Michel
Acézat, 1935



49. Grisaille Panel. France, Rouen, Château de Bouvreil, chapel, c.1265



49/a.
Restoration
chart

49. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 60 × 57.5 cm (23 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 22 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.3)

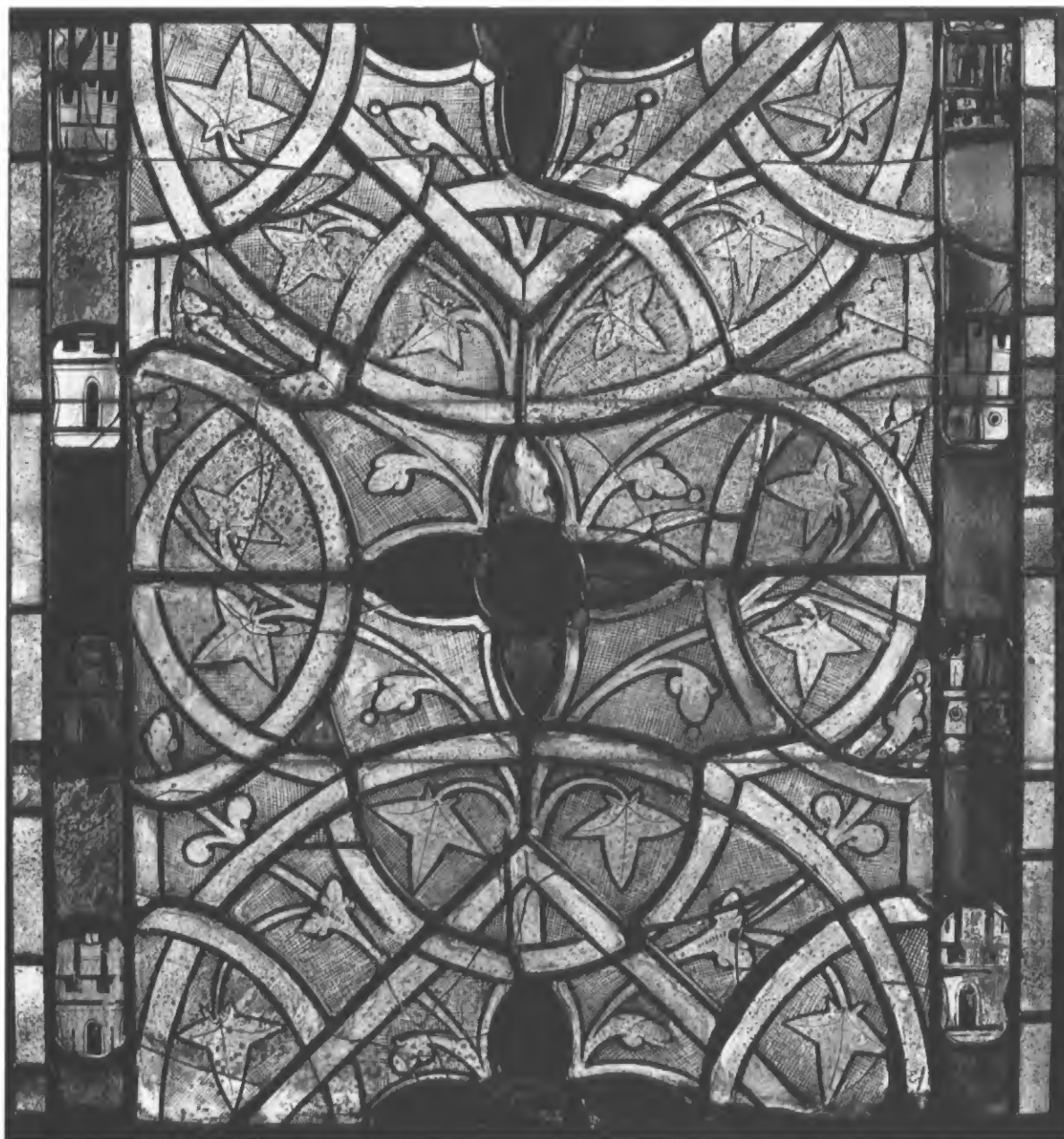
Ill. nos. 49, 49/a

Description: The panel is identical to No. 48, with the exception of the leaves of the central *fermaillet*, which here are a lighter, streakier red than those of No. 48.

Condition: Repairs made in the 1971 restoration were limited to releading and the addition of break-out fillets, but the panel displays clear evidence of at least two previous restorations. The later of the two seems to have added the unpainted upper leaf of the bottom *fermaillet*, while the earlier repair rather carelessly employed the stopgaps and the castles on the right border. The same exterior pitting and interior corrosion skin are evident, and copper foil was used on ungrozed breaks (see No. 48).

Photographic reference: Negative 196806.

50. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Rouen, Château
de Bouvreil,
chapel, c. 1265



50. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 61.1×57.5 cm ($24\frac{1}{16} \times 22\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.4)

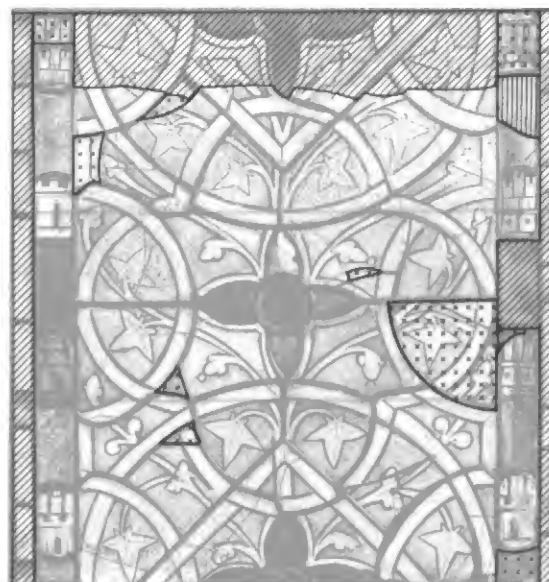
Ill. nos. 50, 50/a

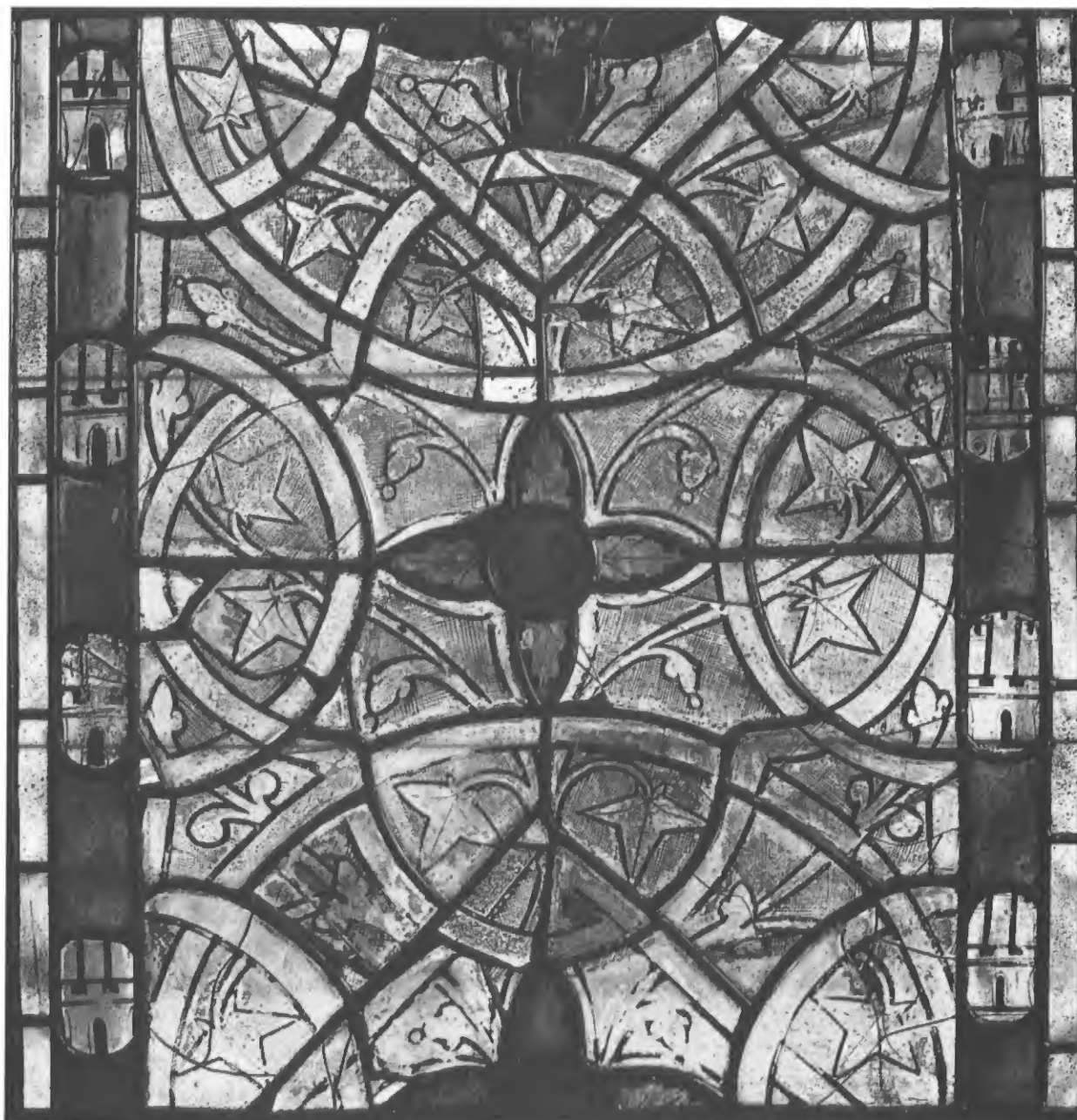
Description: The panel is identical to No. 48, with the exception of the four ruby red leaves of each of the three *fermaillets*, which are accented with a greater number of trace-paint veins than those of No. 48.

Condition: Unlike the previous examples, this panel suffered considerable losses in the upper part of the design and, for installation purposes, was filled out over the panel's entire width. Together with the added break-out fillets and releading, this work was done in 1971. In addition, the eight stopgaps and some recut edges bear witness to an earlier restoration. The same exterior pitting and interior corrosion skin are evident, and copper foil was used on ungrozed breaks (see No. 48).

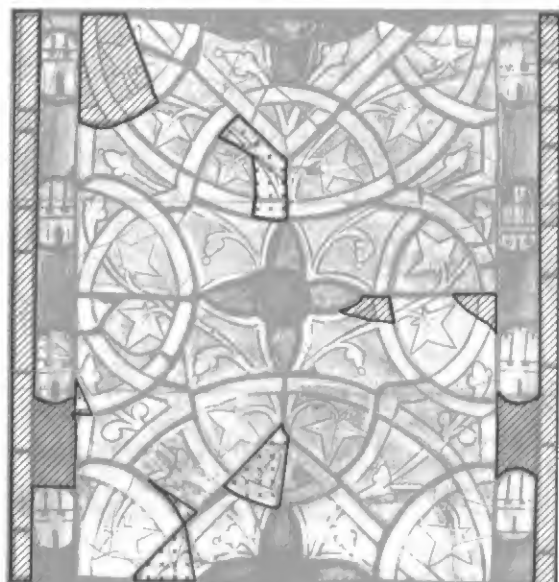
Photographic reference: Negative 196807.

50/a. Restoration chart





51. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Rouen,
Château de
Bouvreil,
chapel,
c.1265



51. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 59.8 × 57.4 cm (23 $\frac{9}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.5)

Ill. nos. No. 51, 51/a

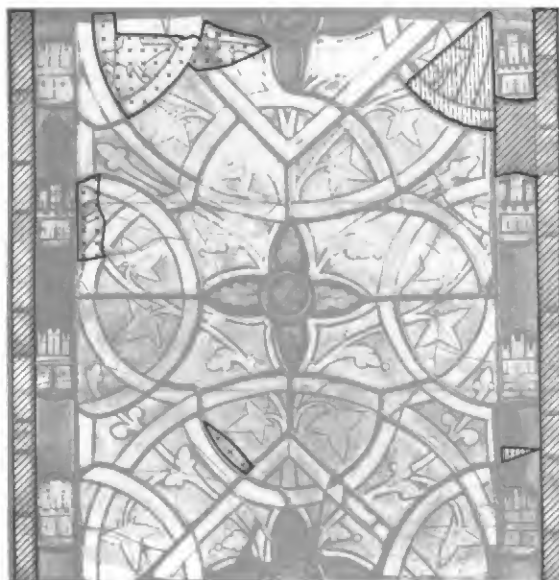
Description: The panel is identical to No. 49.

Condition: Break-out fillets were added, and four missing pieces were filled with new glass. There are also indications of earlier restorations – one, at least, and possibly two. The same exterior pitting and interior corrosion skin are evident, and copper foil was used on ungrozed breaks (see No. 49).

Photographic reference: Negative 196808.

51/a. Restoration chart

52. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Rouen,
Château de
Bouvreil,
chapel, c.1265



52/a.
Restoration
chart

52. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 60.6 × 57.5 cm (23 $\frac{7}{8}$ × 22 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

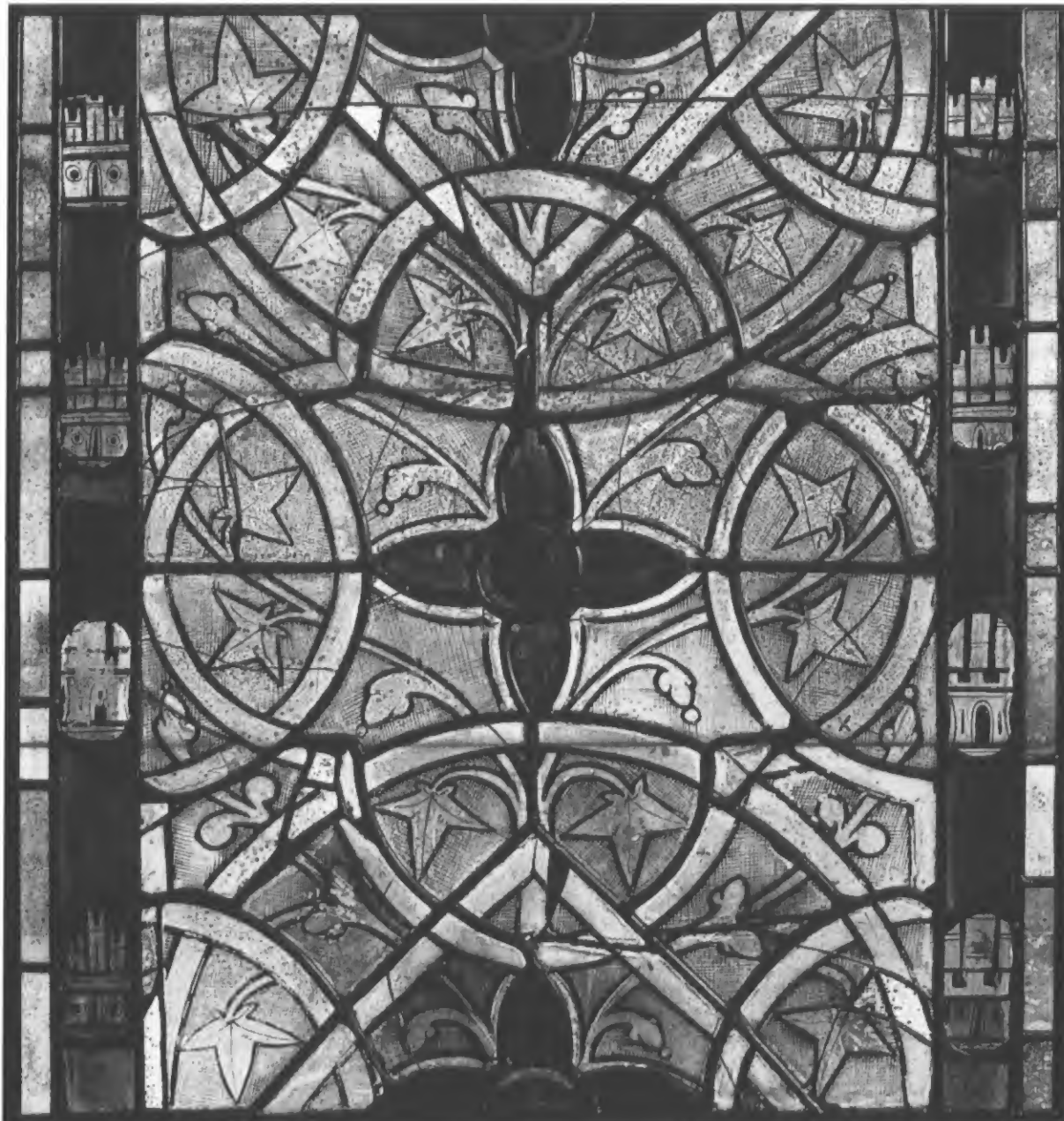
The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.6)

Ill. nos. 52, 52/a

Description: The panel is identical to No. 49

Condition: The same restoration of the break-out fillets was made in this panel as in the others, and one piece of the blue border was replaced. Five stopgaps indicate an older restoration, as do two fills in the border at the top of the panel. Another small fill in the border on the right side suggests an even earlier repair. The same exterior pitting and interior corrosion skin are evident, and copper foil was used on ungrozed breaks (see No. 48).

Photographic reference: Negative 196809.



53. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Rouen, Château
de Bouvreil,
chapel, c. 1265

53. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 61.4 × 57.5 cm (24 $\frac{3}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.7)

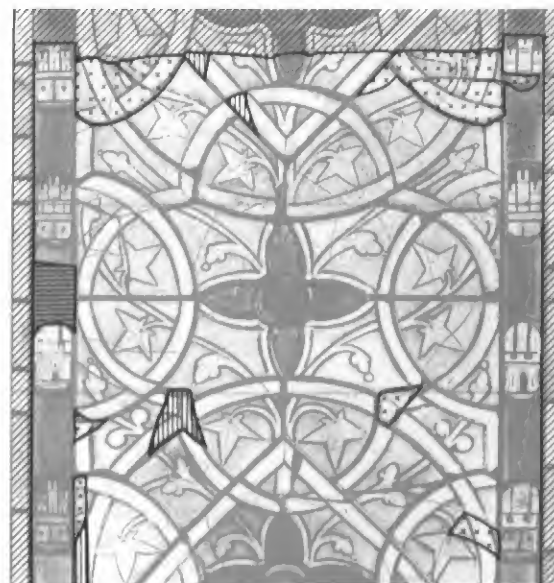
Ill. nos. 53, 53/a

Description: The panel is identical to No. 48.

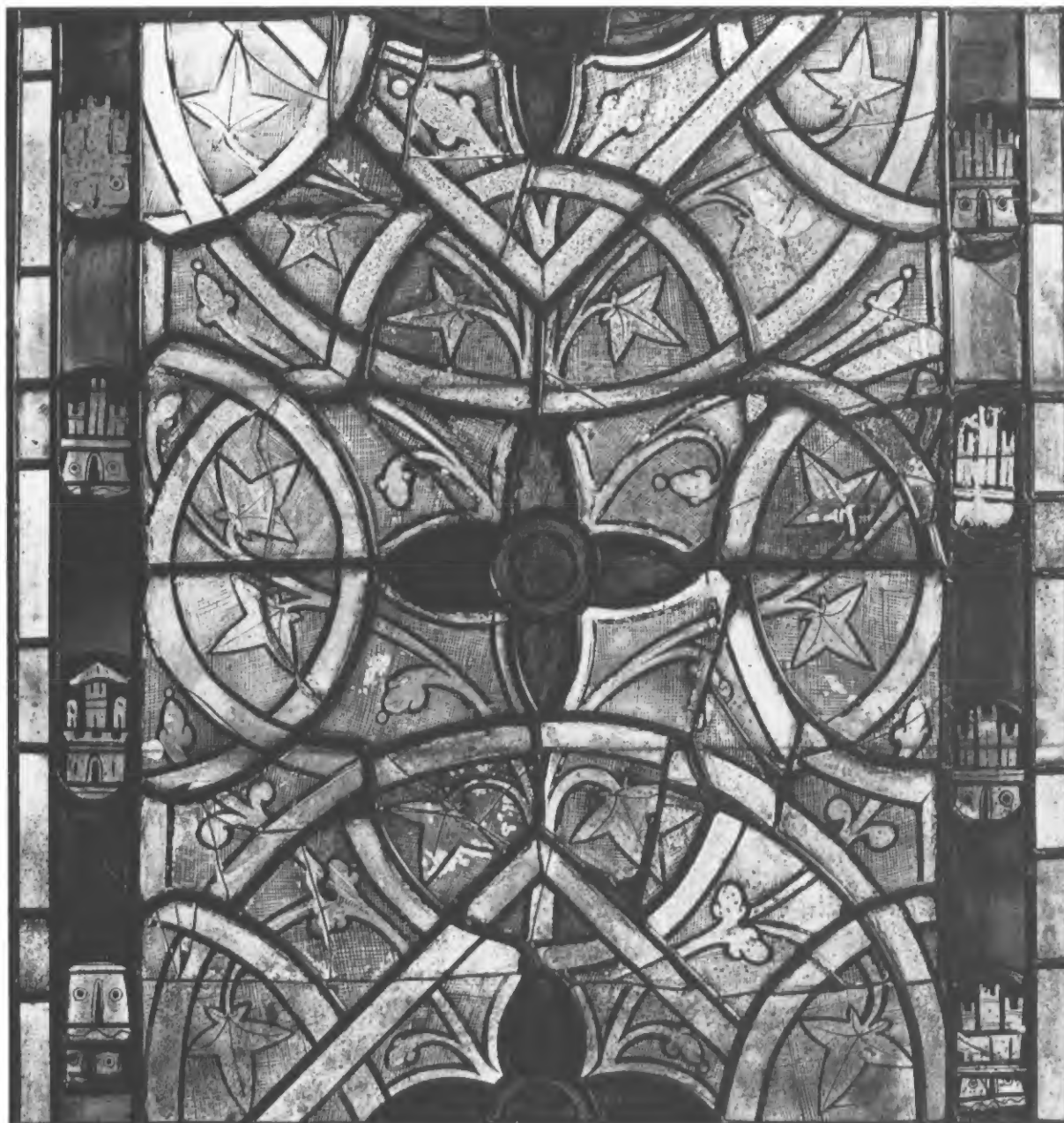
Condition: Losses at the top of this panel were filled out with modern glass to complete the pattern for installation purposes. Several other pieces were added in an old, pre-nineteenth-century restoration. There are no stopgaps. As with other panels in this series, break-out fillets were added and the glass was releaded. The same exterior pitting and interior corrosion skin are evident, and copper foil was used on ungrozed breaks (see No. 48). Museum records indicate that at the time of acquisition the panel bore a sticker reading "19-2" at bottom and the number "252" in white chalk at lower right.

Photographic reference: Negative 196810.

53/a. Restoration chart



54. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Rouen, Château
de Bouvreil,
chapel, c.1265



54. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 61.1 × 57.5 cm (24 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.8)

Ill. nos. 54, 54/a

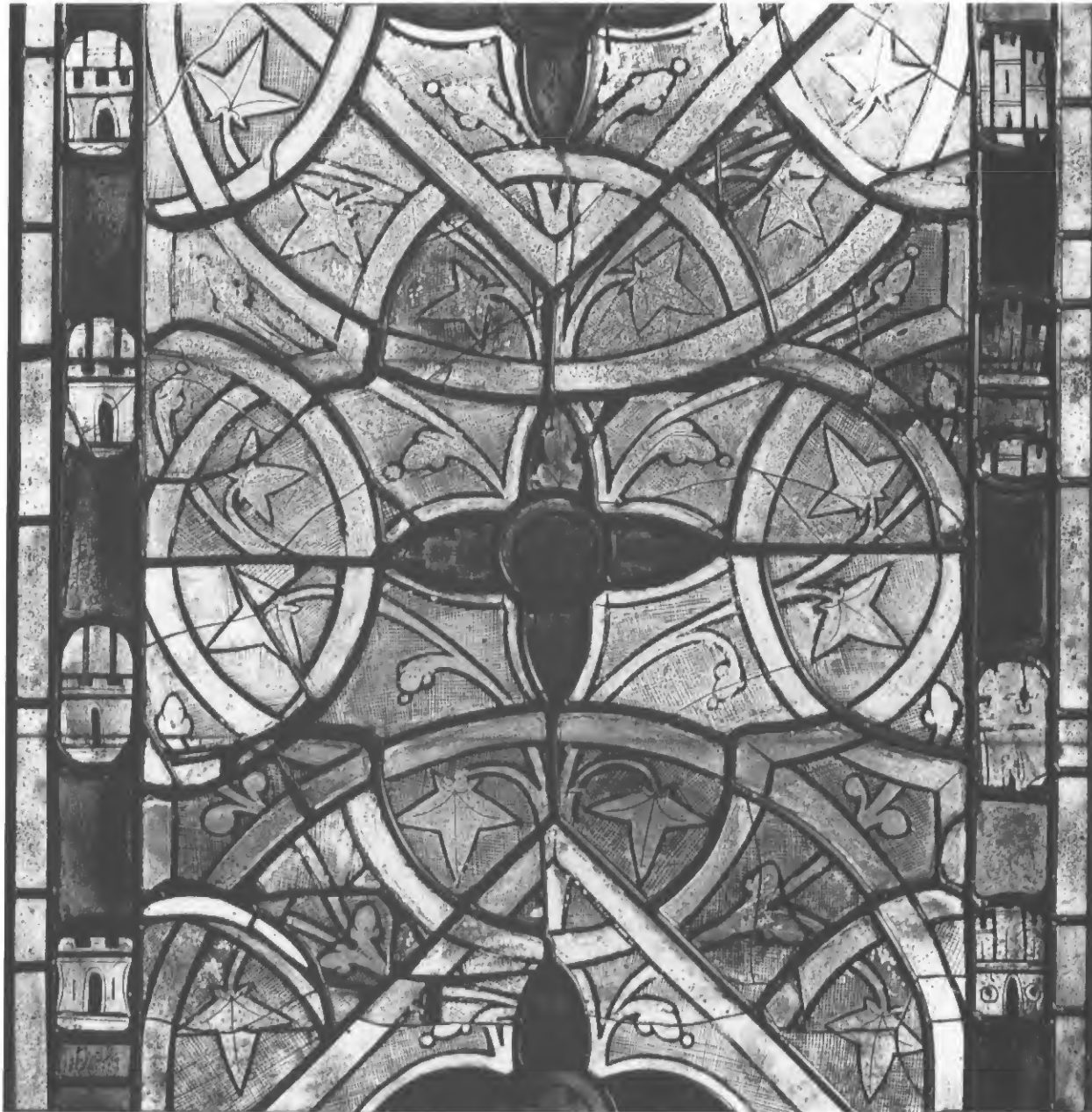
Description: The panel is identical to No. 48.

Condition: This panel was filled out along its bottom edge in the 1971 restoration, and the panel was releaded. Evidence of two previous restorations, one employing stopgaps and the other new glass painted in a rather weak style, appear in the replacements. The same exterior pitting and interior corrosion skin are evident, and copper foil was used on ungrozed breaks (see No. 48).

Photographic reference: Negative 196811.

54/a. Restoration chart





55. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Rouen,
Château de
Bouvreil,
chapel, c. 1265

55. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 61.1 × 57.6 cm (24 $\frac{1}{16}$ × 22 $\frac{11}{16}$ in.)

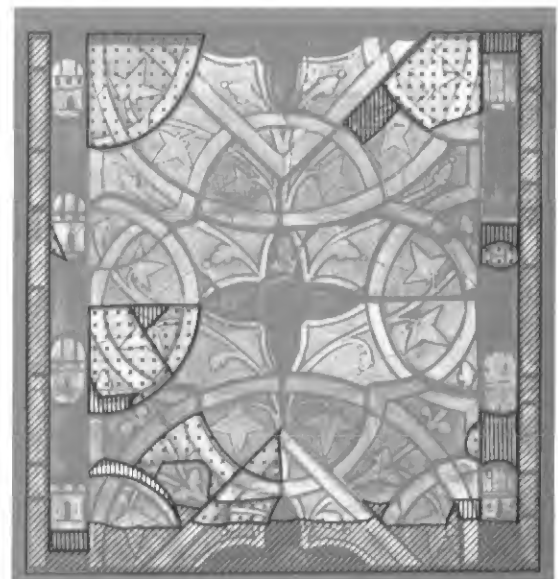
The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.9)

Ill. nos. 55, 55/a

Description: The panel is identical to No. 48.

Condition: This panel was filled out on its lower edge in the 1971 restoration, and edge fillets were added. Two additional restorations of unknown date are indicated by the stopgaps and the new glass. The same exterior pitting and interior corrosion skin are evident, and copper foil was used on ungrozed breaks (see No. 48). Museum records indicate that at the time of acquisition the panel bore a sticker reading "19" at bottom center and the number "254" in white chalk at lower right.

Photographic reference: Negative 196812.



55/a.
Restoration
chart

NOTES

1. Lafond affirmed his belief that the Château de Bouvreuil at Rouen was the provenance of these pieces in a letter to the author dated Paris, 8 December 1969, now in the Cloisters departmental files; also noted by Lillich 1973, p. 74 n. 16.
2. Lafond 1953, p. 337 n. 1, states that the glass was at the Ursulines; see Lillich 1973, pp. 73–74. Helen Jackson Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 86–69, provides an excellent summary of the problem.
3. See de la Quêrière 1821, vol. 1, p. 158 n. 1.
4. Lafond 1953, p. 337 n. 1.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Lillich 1973, p. 74.
7. Branner 1965, pp. 92–93, and Lillich 1973, p. 74.
8. Aubé 1906, p. 165.
9. *Ibid.*
10. For a history of the chapel, see de la Quêrière 1821, vol. 1, pp. 157–59, and de la Quêrière 1841, vol. 2, pp. 198–99.
11. Aubé 1906, p. 165; “Vitreaux de Saint-Nicholas” 1906, p. 414; “Verrières anciennes” 1906, p. 444.
12. See n. 1 above.
13. See n. 1 above and “Verrières anciennes” 1906, p. 444.
14. Letter cited in n. 1 above and Lafond 1953, p. 341, ill. Lafond also stated that Acézat was associated with Bacri.
15. Acézat Sale 1969, lots 19 and 25. A panel from Sées now in The Cloisters, No. 59, was sold with these lots.
16. For the development of the band window, see Lillich 1970, pp. 26–33.
17. Lafond 1953, pp. 337 and 341, ill.
18. Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 86 and 92 n. 43.
19. For a review of these possibilities, see Lillich 1973, pp. 74–75. [See also Lillich 1991, p. 27, and Lillich 1994, p. 65.]
20. Grodecki in Aubert et al. 1958, p. 158, was the first to propose that “castle and fleurs-de-lys borders” were not necessarily a sign of royal patronage; he postulated that by the second half of the thirteenth century heraldic borders of this type had become a formal convention. Lillich 1983, pp. 121–27, however, made the plausible suggestion that the castles do not refer to Saint Louis’s mother, Blanche of Castile, who had no heraldic arms, but rather reflect the pretensions of the Capetians to the throne of Castile.
21. [For discussion of the characteristic of grisaille in the 1260s, see Lillich 1973, p. 75.]
22. The Cluny set of grisailles from the chateau have a colorless ground, another instance of the transitional character of these examples; see *ibid.*, pp. 73–74.

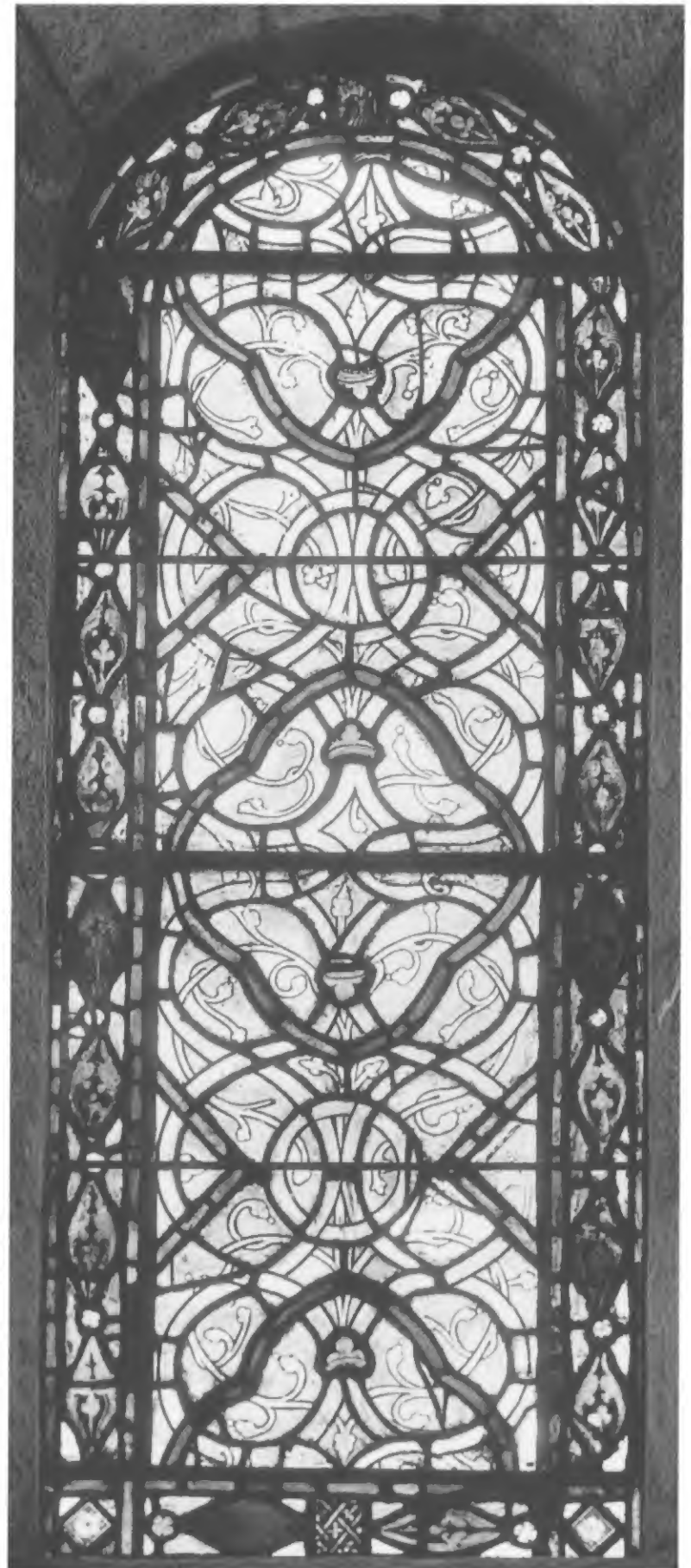
56A–C. GRISAILLE LANCET

France (Aube), Troyes, Collegiate Church
of Saint-Urbain

1265–70

Related material: United States, Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum, two grisaille panels (03.SG.60 and 03.SG.76 [56/fig. 1]).

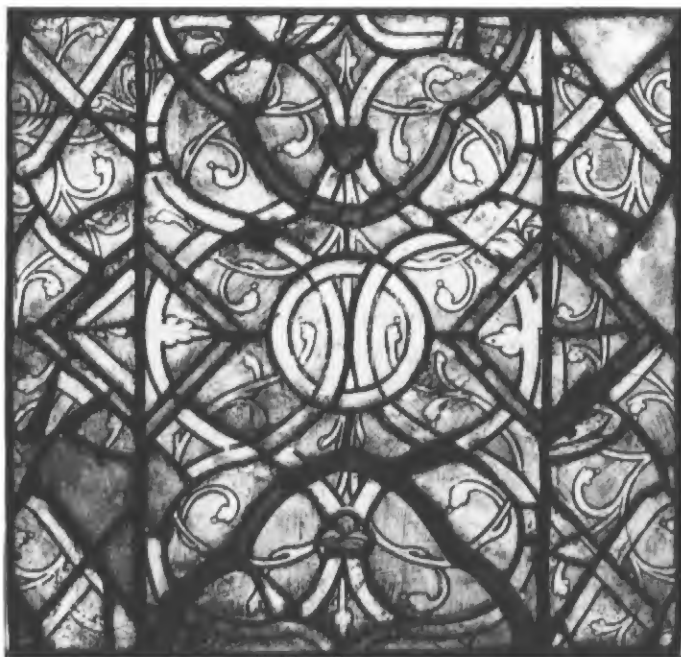
History of the glass and original location: In 1936 the dealer Roy Grosvenor Thomas (d. 1956), of Thomas and Drake, New York, sold to the Metropolitan Museum for the new Cloisters branch a grisaille “window” composed of two panels of old glass with a small arched section at the



56A–C. Grisaille Lancet. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain

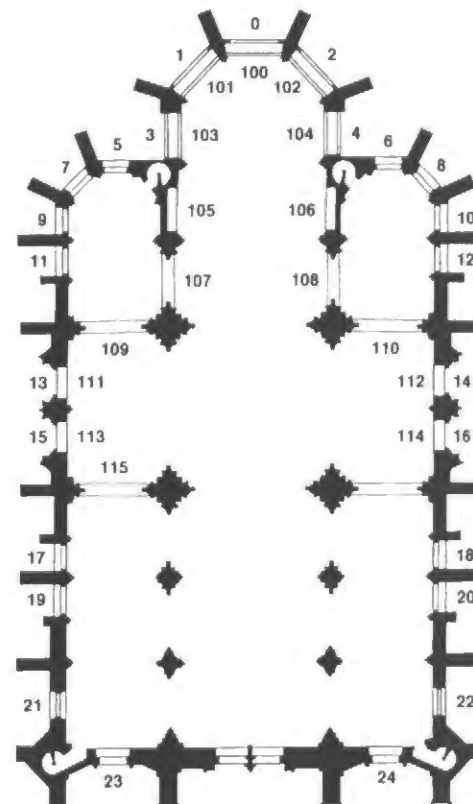
top, all surrounded by a colored border. Correspondence in Museum archives provides some information about the glass. Thomas, in a letter of August 1936 to James Rorimer, then curator at the Metropolitan, stated that originally there had been four sections of the pattern and that by "sacrificing two sections we were able to substitute good pieces of glass for poor and restored ones thus making a very complete but smaller window, a perfectly legitimate operation in the case of repeating design grisaille."¹ Rorimer had evidently asked for the remains of the panels and border in order to fill the arch at top for installation at The Cloisters. Thomas sent the glass, as stated in his letter, and remarked that the border, though contemporaneous with the panels, was not original to the same window. A small piece of an identical border was formerly in the collection of George A. Douglass, Jr. (1916–1995), of Greenwich, Connecticut,² and two additional panels of the grisaille pattern are now in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (56/fig. 1).³

The Cloisters lancet is composed of remains from a grisaille pattern that once filled a window in the Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain at Troyes (56/figs. 2 and 3).⁴ The origin of this grisaille has been established through photographs taken of Saint-Urbain's windows by Gustave Lancelot (1830–1906) before the last major restoration of the glass, which took place between 1876 and 1906 and following which the church, having had a temporary nave since at least the fourteenth century, was finally completed.⁵ Although the original location of the Cloisters panels at Saint-Urbain remains unknown, Lancelot's photograph of choir clerestory bay 105 shows two panels of this same pattern that had been stopgapped into the two



56/fig. 1. Grisaille Panel. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain, c. 1265–70. Glencairn Museum, The Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania

56/fig. 2. Floor plan, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain (after CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 278)



lowest registers of the third lancet from the left, which Helen Zakin has identified as now in the Glencairn Museum.⁶

The initial location of the Cloisters glass in the collegiate church can nonetheless be suggested by reviewing the history of the building (56/fig. 2).⁷ Saint-Urbain was founded in 1262 by Pope Urban IV (r. 1261–64) in honor of his patron saint and to memorialize his own humble beginnings in the town of Troyes. The pope chose as the site of the new church his father's former shop, which he had previously given to the Convent of Notre-Dame-de-Nonnains. In a letter to the abbess, Urban IV requested return of the rights to the land and the buildings on it so that he might establish the church and a college of canons under direct papal supervision, a move that was to cause difficulties for the future. He also endowed his new foundation with 10,000 silver marks (over 30,000 pounds) in order to acquire the property, build the church, and establish the prebends for the twelve canons.⁸

Though not equal to the 40,000 pounds spent by King Louis IX on the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris,⁹ this sum was sufficient to insure a handsome edifice of relatively modest proportions. The financial accounts have been preserved and show the progress of the building campaign. After the pope's death in October 1264, the project was carried on by his nephew, Cardinal Ancher (d. 1286), with the support of the new pope, Clement IV (1265–68).¹⁰ Work must have proceeded rapidly, for by June 1264, before the death of Urban IV, the choir was finished and ready for roofing. Two years later work had progressed to the



56/fig. 3. Interior view of the choir, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain

transept, and Clement IV seems to have set the date for the consecration of the main altar on 25 May 1266, the feast of St. Urbain.

A few days before the dedication, the abbess of Notre-Dame-aux-Nonnains sent a mob to sack the *collégiale*. The doors were forced, the altar overturned, and the carts and tools of the workmen broken and scattered. Hardly had new doors been installed when the act was repeated. The damage, while not involving the structure, was enough to delay the consecration. Far more serious was the fire, probably traceable to the same source, that followed in the summer of 1266, burning the roof of the choir and the scaffolding that was still in place.¹¹ From that time onward, the Church of Saint-Urbain was in financial difficulties. In the aftermath of the fire, during the so-called second building campaign currently dated to between 1267 and 1280, alms solicited by Clement IV in 1267, in addition to the pawn and sale of items from the church treasury, most likely paid for summary repairs of the damage, in the course of which the stone was hastily patched. A makeshift stained-glass arrangement, reusing existing figures from the old program to compose lancets filled out with new grisaille and new borders, began to be installed

about 1270,¹² accomplished with the use of funds bequeathed by Thibaut V, count of Champagne and king of Navarre (r. 1253–70). More than ten years passed, however, before a second granting of papal indulgences in 1277 permitted the opening of the building for religious services.¹³ At the cardinal's death in 1286, the nave and facade were far from complete. A wooden superstructure was placed over the unfinished portions, and the church was finally consecrated, in that condition, in 1389. The present nave clerestory and the upper portions of the facade were not completed until the nineteenth century, during the third campaign of building and restoration. The medieval portions of the structure consist, therefore, of the plan, the choir, and the transept, constructed during the first building campaign between 1262 and 1266, and the lower story of the nave, completed by 1286.¹⁴

Unfortunately, the history of the glazing campaign cannot be determined quite so precisely. Although windows are not mentioned in the financial account for Saint-Urbain of 1266, the amount of funds, over 19,000 pounds, spent on the building by that time would be a rather large sum if it did not include money for windows. (By comparison, the 40,000 pounds expended by the king on the Sainte-Chapelle included not only the building but also its stained-glass windows, lavish interior decoration, and shrine for the relics.) Despite the lack of evidence in the accounts, however, it seems likely – in part on the basis of the style of the windows – that the glazing program had indeed been designed and was in the works at the time of the fire. Obviously, a blaze hot enough to calcify the piers and mullions of the church would certainly have ravaged whatever glass was then installed in the apse. That the windows of the choir were partially destroyed in 1266, and that repairs were effected in haste, helps to explain the omissions, the confusion, and the differences in styles to be found in what remains of the glazing program.¹⁵ In addition, restorations to the glass were carried out on numerous occasions through the centuries, from 1383 onward, culminating in the final work of 1876–1906.¹⁶

In the reglazing funded by Count Thibaut in 1270, the figures of the prophets and patriarchs, set in heraldic borders above grisaille panels of the regularized quarry type, were installed in the choir windows. In contrast to the grisaille glass now in the clerestory, most of which is of the type characteristic of the late 1270s, the Cloisters lancet is a much more complicated design.¹⁷ Only one of the present clerestory windows displays an overtly bulged quarry design and a center ring resembling those of the Cloisters glass; this is bay 104, the first apse window on the south side. These elaborate grisaille patterns are, however, common in the side chapels. A few fragments of the original glazing still exist in the side bays of the north chapel, bays that were copied and completed in the restoration of 1876–1906 by Édouard-Amédée Didron (1836–1902)

and others but also published in their earlier state by Ferdinand de Lasteyrie (1810–1879) in 1853.¹⁸ In addition to the two pieces of grisaille in the Cloisters pattern that were stopgapped into bay 105 before the last nineteenth-century restoration, there are now new panels of this same pattern in a window on the south side of the south chapel,¹⁹ possibly suggesting an original location for the Cloisters panels.

Nothing further is known of the movements of the Cloisters grisaille. It is not known how long the glass remained in its original location or how long before the restoration of 1842 it was used as stopgaps; there is no lack of possibilities regarding where the Cloisters panels might have been put during that restoration or even before. We do know that Édouard Didron, among the extensive work performed between 1876 and 1906, restored glass in both bay 105, where the related Glencairn panels were located, and the south chapel, where the modern copies of the identical grisaille pattern are now installed in bay 10. Didron's removal of previous stopgaps and his new insertions are easy to read and can be checked against Lancelot's photographs.²⁰

Iconographic program: The Cloisters grisaille panels may not have been part of the original iconographic program at Saint-Urbain but rather a result of the very much reduced and provisional, albeit aesthetically highly successful, glazing that followed the disastrous fire of 1266 (56/fig. 3). The initial program, like most Rayonnant and Court Style glazing ensembles, was probably planned as a combination of color and grisaille;²¹ yet because it was a papal foundation, the building very likely was intended to rival in lavishness the Sainte-Chapelle.²² The choir clerestory may have been glazed in full color with double rows of figures, while the lower story of the apse may have been set with historiated medallions. Grisaille glass quite possibly filled the chapel windows, as it does today.

When the building program resumed in 1267 and the fabric of the choir had been repaired so that glazing could begin again, the first work to be done may well have been the refurbishment of the two lateral chapels; damage in those areas was not as extensive as it was in the high choir. The initial dedications of these two chapels seem to have been to St. Nicholas on the north and to the Virgin on the south.²³ Figural panels illustrating the lives of both these patrons still exist. Scenes from the Life of the Virgin – an *Annunciation*, a *Visitation*, and a *Massacre of the Innocents*, all of which relate in style to the late 1260s, the period corresponding to that of the Cloisters grisailles – are now in the former chapel of St. Nicholas (currently dedicated to St. Joseph); these scenes were undoubtedly part of a *Life of the Virgin* originally installed in her chapel on the south side of the choir.²⁴ Following work on the side chapels, the same shop probably continued working at Saint-Urbain on an extensive *Life of Christ*, containing

as many as thirty scenes, for the lower apse.²⁵ This series was most likely under way when, c. 1270, the attention of the glaziers was redirected toward the installation of the upper windows.

In the abbreviated – if not makeshift – iconographic program initiated during the second building campaign, narrative or legendary windows were placed in the two side chapels dedicated to St. Nicholas and the Virgin. Similarly, the remains of the *Public Life and Passion of Christ*, in the lower windows of the apse, are strictly narrative in character. The *Crucifixion*, remade after the fire, formed the symbolic focal point of the choir glazing. Surmounted by the *Last Judgment*, remade, in the tracery, these essential representations of Christian doctrine were surrounded by the prophets, ancestors, and patriarchs – those who came before and who foretold Christ's redemptions of mankind. The essence of the original program, therefore, still exists in the second campaign and was perhaps considered by Cardinal Ancher to be enough, together with the narrative scenes, to express the reality of Christian faith.²⁶

Style and date: In the choir glass at Saint-Urbain it is possible to study the gradual but progressive replacement of new grisaille compositions for old. The Cloisters lancet represents what appears to be the oldest of these manifestations of style. It is an example of fully developed undulating strapwork and foliage of the budded-with-berry palmette type. The only attempt at naturalization in this foliage is the leaf form at center top and bottom of each panel. Color is limited to the clasps and the independent fillets.

The next progression in style can be seen in bay 104, the first apse bay on the south. This example has no independent strapwork or color except in the bosses, which are placed on center at top and bottom of the panel. These half bosses correspond to another in the adjoining panel. The panel has a center ring and the beginnings of naturalized leaves in some of the foliage. Because of its border representing the arms of Champagne and Navarre, this window is thought to postdate 1270, the year when Thibaut V, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, gave 40 pounds for the work at Saint-Urbain. A subsequent evolutionary step occurs in the grisailles on the north side of the apse in bay 101, where the quarries surrounding a small, colored center boss have straightened into lozenge shapes and a number of the leaves are naturalized, even though the rising stem still terminates within the panel and the side straps bulge. The other nine patterns used in the choir have the prominent, colored center boss and lozenge-shaped quarries of grisaille made in the decade of the seventies, yet the traditional palmette persists in most cases. Based on this stylistic sequence, it would seem probable that the Cloisters panels should be dated soon after the fire and, since they may have originated in the Virgin chapel, that they might be dated c. 1267 or at least 1265–70.

Photographic reference: Negative 112201 shows all three panels when they were installed at The Cloisters in 1936.

Bibliography: Thomas Stockbooks, vol. 2, pp. 88–89, no. 2091A; *BMMA* 1936a, p. 117, notes accession of the panels by the Museum, calling them “Austrian”; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 102, gives basic information and bibliography; Helen Jackson Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, pp. 88–90, fig. 10, identifies the window as coming from the Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain at Troyes; Young 1988, p. 37, illustrates a detail of the window in color; CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 283; [Hayward and Lillich 1998, p. 176 n. 52].

56A. Grisaille Lancet Panel

Rectangular panel: 69 × 53.5 cm (27 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 21 in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1936 (36.109)

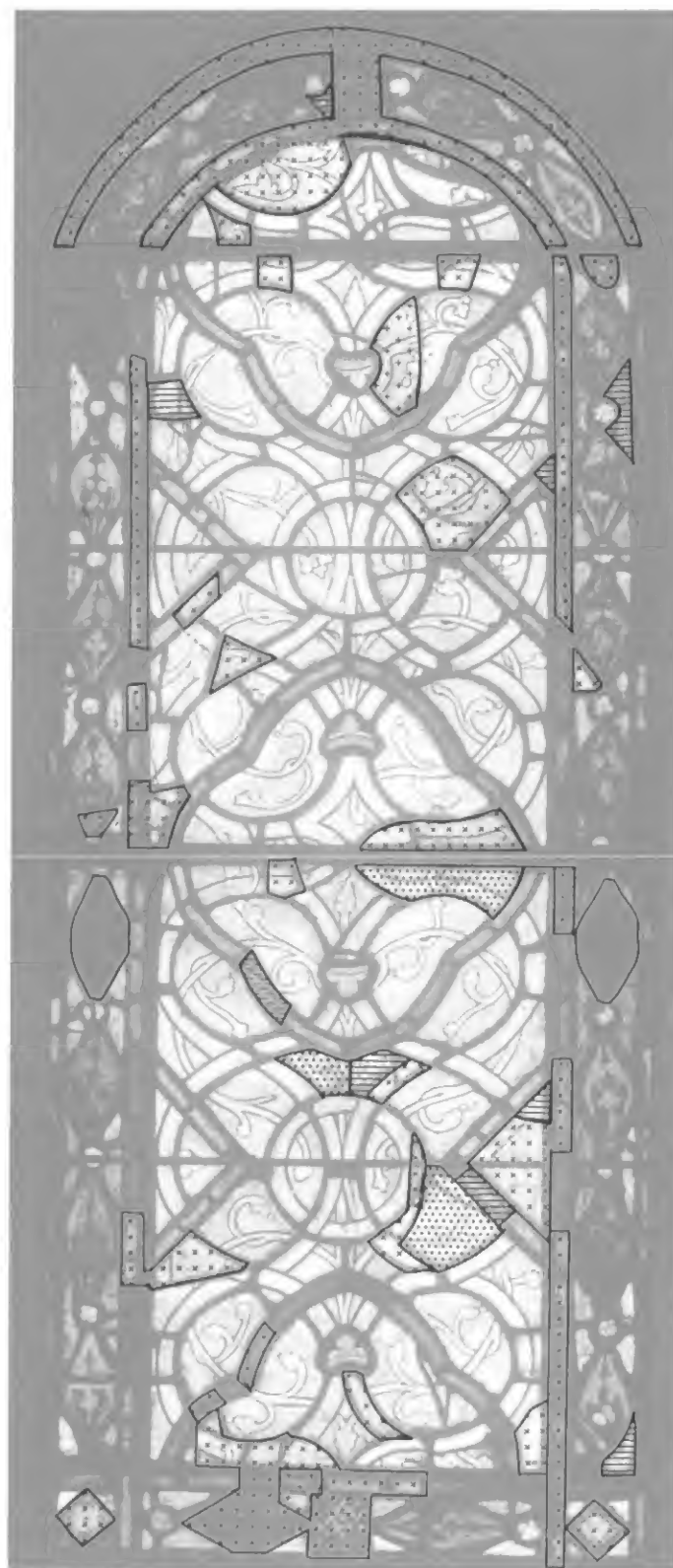
Ill. nos. 56/figs. 1–3, 56A–C, 56/a

Description: Two columns of vertically undulating colorless straps define the panel, with both columns clasped together on axis alternately by colorless strapwork rings and light green buckles painted to reveal a trilobe florette.²⁷ The trilobe florette of the upper buckle points downward, while the lower points upward; a central axial stem issues vertically from the lower buckle and terminates at the top and bottom of the panel in a stylized deltoid leaf (the leaf at top points up and the leaf at bottom points down). The central stem branches at both sides into tendrils that end in three-lobed palmette buds; the central lobe of many of these palmette buds is topped by a single berry. The pattern is overlaid at the edges of the lateral axis of the panel by a pair of half canted squares composed of golden yellow fillets and at the top and bottom of the panel by a light red filleted trilobe that when joined with a like trilobe at the bottom of No. 56B forms a quatrefoil. The glass has an especially warm, brownish tint and is finely cross-hatched.

The border, contemporary with though not original to the panel, alternates painted palmette leaf clusters of amber and dark murrey on a medium grayish blue ground. Rosette buttons of the same light green as the clasps that join the colorless strapwork separate the leaf clusters.

Condition: Overall the glass is in fairly good condition. There is evidence of at least two restorations, one made with new glass at an unknown date and another, possibly in Didron’s studio, where old glass was reused to fill missing parts. A considerable amount of the border fillet is not original (especially in the lancet head). There is abrasion of the paint on the border’s palmette leaf clusters.

Composition: Both this panel and No. 56B are composed of three different elements (foliage, colorless strapwork,



56/a. Restoration chart

and colored straps), each of which appears to go its separate way. The very complex form of design seen here appears during the late 1260s at Saint-Urbain and elsewhere.²⁸ Very little has been said about grisaille of this type. Both the border and the grisaille cling to the traditional palmette type of foliage that persisted throughout

much of the thirteenth century. The leaf terminations for the stem in this grisaille are the only hint of natural observation, and crosshatching in the background is another indication of its traditional character.

Color: The colors of the fillets in each of the two rectangular panels (56A and 56B), amber for the darts and light red for the trilobes, differ from the colors of those used in the Glencairn pieces, whose trilobes are blue and clasps are red. This variation of color is not unusual at Saint-Urbain, where in both of the east windows of the transept the color in the strapwork alternates between panels. The light clear green of the clasps of the Cloisters lancet is an exceptional color.

Photographic reference: Negative 112201.

56B. Grisaille Lancet Panel

Rectangular panel: 57.5 × 53.5 cm (22 $\frac{5}{8}$ × 21 in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1936 (36.109)

Ill. nos. 56A–C, 56/a

Description: This panel is almost identical to No. 56A, to which it is now joined, with the exception that here the lower stylized deltoid leaf is absent from the pattern. In this panel some of the palmette buds are more elaborately articulated than others, with each of the three lobes themselves composed of trilobe florettes.

Condition: See No. 56A.

Photographic reference: Negative 112201.

56C. Grisaille Lancet Panel

Arched panel: 19.5 × 53.5 cm (7 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 21 in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1936 (36.109)

Ill. nos. 56A–C, 56/a

Description: The lunette-shaped panel is composed of fragments of the same (or very similar) pattern as that of Nos. 56A and 56B. The glass exhibits the same warm, brownish tint and fine crosshatching as the glass in the previous two panels, and the two columns of undulating strapwork are visible, as is part of the base of an upright light green buckle (at the apex of the lunette). The stylized deltoid leaf present in Nos. 56A and 56B is here replaced by a down-turned, three-lobed leaf.

Condition: See No. 56A.

Photographic reference: Negative 112201.

NOTES

1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives, letter dated 5 August 1936 to James J. Rorimer from Roy Grosvenor Thomas.
2. See CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 24 (1G–38). The piece was bought from Abraham M. Adler, New York, who frequently purchased stained glass from Roy Grosvenor Thomas, [and was sold at Sotheby's New York on 12 January 1996; see Sotheby's New York Sale 1996, lot 1044].
3. Helen Jackson Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 88–90, ill., and CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 133, grisaille panels 03.SG.60 and 03.SG.76.
4. Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 88–90.
5. On Lancelot's photos, see Jossier 1912, p. 69, and those reproduced in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, pp. 89–90, figs. 12 and 13, [as well as Nos. 57 and 58, n. 11]. These Lancelot negatives are the property of the Archives Photographiques of the Monuments Historiques and carry the numbers MH 147591 to MH 147619. See CV France, *Recensement* IV, pp. 280–82, for the negative numbers bay by bay.
6. Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 89 and fig. 13.
7. [Editors' note: The discussion concerning the history of the glass at Saint-Urbain, as well as selected other portions of this entry, has been revised posthumously to reflect the author's detailed analysis of Saint-Urbain, edited by Meredith P. Lillich (who also provided notes to accompany the author's original lecture) and published in Hayward and Lillich 1998, pp. 165–77. The most concise history is given by Salet 1957, pp. 96–102, who relates a detailed narrative of the inept management of funds, the embezzlement of some of the building allotments, and the vandalism that almost obliterated the glazing program. This account should be supplemented with that of Davis 1984, pp. 847–84, who suggests a second building campaign, 1267–77, which patched up the choir after the fire, completed the transept, and finished the nave aisles and the first story of the west facade. See also Bruzelius 1987, pp. 635–40.]
8. See Davis 1984, pp. 848–52.
9. Grodecki 1975a, p. 6.
10. That Cardinal Ancher had become an active patron of the church after his uncle's death is demonstrated by the reliefs above the piscina on the south side of the apse, which show Pope Urban IV presenting the choir and the cardinal offering the transept, for which he had given 500 pounds of his own money. Since the choir in these reliefs is shown in a finished state and the transept without its roof, Francis Salet has suggested that the piscina should be dated 1265, indicating the progress of construction at this point; see Salet 1957, p. 105; for another perspective, however, see Davis 1984, p. 853 n. 21.
11. On the effects of the fire, see Paris, Archives of the Monuments Historiques, (Restoration Dossier 2), Report of 22 January 1882 by Selmersheim, architect, excerpts of which are published in Miguet 1991, p. 7.
12. The 1270 date for the glazing of the choir is confirmed by the presence, in the borders of bays 102, 103, and 104, of the arms of Navarre and Champagne for Thibaut V, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, who in that year bequeathed for the building of Saint-Urbain a sum of 40 pounds. The bequest is noted in Lalore 1880, p. LXXXIV, and Babeau 1891, pp. 49–50.
13. Lalore 1880, pp. 293–98, which also gives a detailed inventory of the furnishings of the choir at that date, discussed on p. CXII.
14. In addition to Davis 1984, see Bruzelius 1987, pp. 635–40.
15. Abbé Jossier's explanation that the windows were partially destroyed by the fire seems more plausible than Louis Grodecki's proposal that subsequent restorations could account for such extensive losses; see Grodecki 1957, pp. 129–30.
16. See CV France, *Recensement* IV, pp. 277–78.
17. For the glazing in grisaille of the late 1270s at Chartres, see Lillich 1972, pp. 11–18, esp. pp. 16 and 17.
18. De Lasteyrie 1853, vol. 2, pl. 31. On Didron, see Jossier 1912, pp. 229–32.
19. Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers* I, p. 89.

20. See n. 5 above. According to CV France, *Recensement* IV, p. 281, the glass in bay 105 was restored by Martin-Hermanowska after 1842 and by Vincent-Larcher in 1878.
21. For discussions of this type of color and grisaille combination, see Lillich 1994, pp. 6–8.
22. See Grodecki 1975a, p. 6, and Branner 1965, pp. 56–65 and 108.
23. See Jossier 1912, pp. 16–17, esp. n. 5.
24. These three scenes are vertical in format, while those from the *Life of Christ* in the apse are horizontal. Thus they could not originally have come from the apse program. Jossier 1912, p. 62, gives the dimensions of the panels as 55 × 50 centimeters (21½ × 19¾ inches) wide. [These historiated panels are now generally dated to the 1270s; see Nos. 57 and 58, n. 27.]
25. Extensive renditions of the gospels were not foreign to Troyes where, as

- Elizabeth Pastan has suggested, remains of at least four windows relating to Christ's life were part of a twelfth-century glazing program in the Collegiate Church of Saint-Étienne at Troyes; see Pastan 1989, pp. 338–72. For a complete bibliography, see CV France, *Recensement* IV, pp. 239–41. The twelve panels that still survive from the series at Saint-Urbain are horizontal, almost square, framed by trilobed gables or double trefoils.
26. [For a more detailed explanation of the iconographic program at Saint-Urbain, see Hayward and Lillich 1998, pp. 168–72.]
27. It is unlikely that Thomas, the dealer who restored and sold the piece, could have substituted the green buckles, since there are three of them the same color in a portion of the border formerly in the collection of George A. Douglass, Jr. (see also n. 2 above).
28. See Lillich 1972, pp. 13–17.

57 & 58. TWO SECTIONS FROM A BORDER WITH GRISAILLE

France (Aube), Troyes, Collegiate Church
of Saint-Urbain

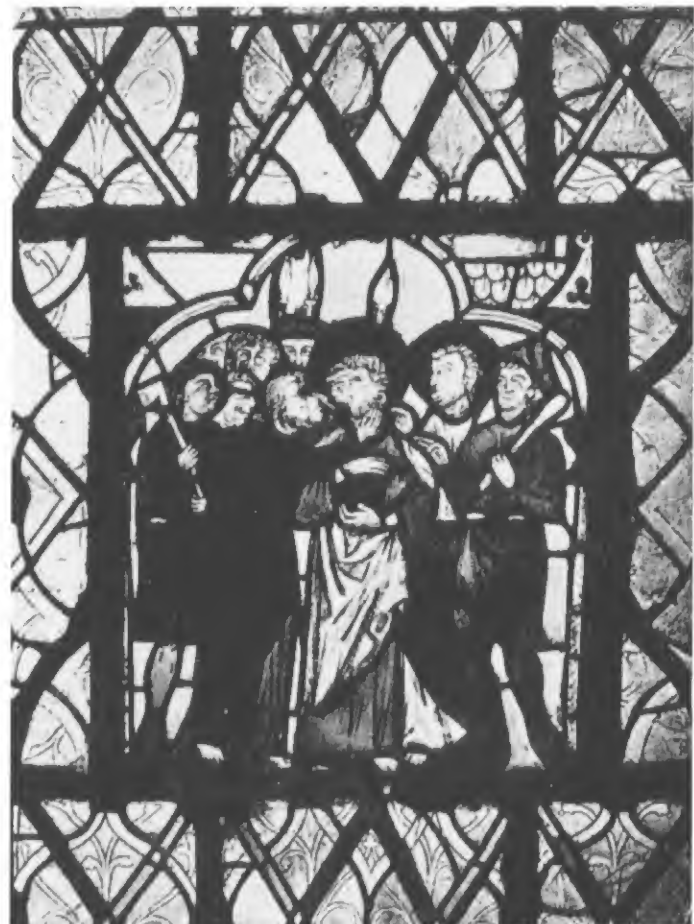
c. 1264–70

Related material: United States, Colorado, Evergreen, Collection of John L. Feldman; Massachusetts, Williamstown, Williams College Museum of Art (41.5.1)¹

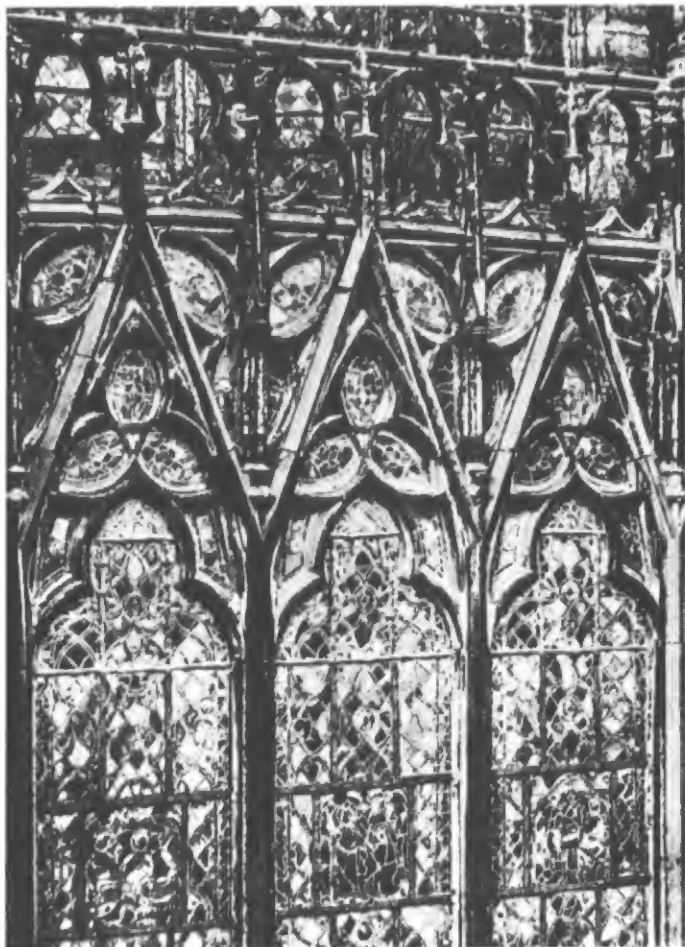
History of the glass: These panels are two of twelve similarly configured borders edged with grisaille. The attribution of this group to the Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain at Troyes rests upon two photographs of Saint-Urbain windows published in the early twentieth century. The most definitive reproduction, found in Arthur J. de Havilland Bushnell's *Storied Windows* of 1914 (57/fig. 1), shows the grisaille portion of a panel now in the collection of the Williams College Art Museum in Williamstown, Massachusetts.² The other photograph (57/fig. 2) appeared eleven years earlier in the book *Stained Glass* by the English glass designer Lewis F. Day (1845–1910). Showing an exterior view of a lower choir window (see also the floor plan for Saint-Urbain in No. 56A–C [56/fig. 2]), this picture illustrates several examples of the grisaille pattern together with its border.³ (Indeed, it is possible that the historiated panel shown in the dexter lancet of Day's image is the *Kiss of Judas*, subsequently published by Bushnell.)

How these panels left Saint-Urbain and found their way into the art market remains a matter of conjecture. As the glass of Saint-Urbain does not appear to have been demounted during the First World War⁴ (thus precluding the possibility that the glass was sold at that time), the panels were most likely removed at the very beginning of what Louis Grodecki termed the “grande restauration de 1876–1906.”⁵ Initially undertaken by Louis-Germain Vincent-Larcher (1816–1894) and Édouard-Amédée Didron (1836–1902), the restoration of the stained glass at

Saint-Urbain was completed by Jean-Baptiste Anglade (b. 1841) following the deaths of Vincent-Larcher and Didron.⁶ Ledgers for Saint-Urbain enumerate the scope of Didron's work, which extended for more than twenty years and included the reordering, restoration, and refabrication of the lower choir windows early in 1877.⁷ Abbé Onésime Jossier, the first author to systematically study the stained glass at Saint-Urbain, observed that Didron



57/fig. 1. *Kiss of Judas*. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain, c. 1270. Photographed as installed in 1876 (after Bushnell 1914, opposite p. 267)



57/fig. 2. Exterior view of a lower choir window. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain. Photographed prior to 1877 (after Day 1903, fig. 30)

not only re-leaded and cleaned the historiated panels that he installed in the choir but also replaced damaged figural parts as well as elements of the background.⁸

The extent of Didron's work was undoubtedly more comprehensive than the tasks outlined by Abbé Jossier. The current setting for the *Kiss of Judas*, for example, shows a uniform, repetitive grisaille pattern throughout the lancet, which, as Meredith Lillich has pointed out, was not the arrangement of the glass in the photograph published by Bushnell. In the latter, the design of the grisaille flanking the historiated panel is clearly different from that in the remaining parts of the window.⁹ It is conceivable that Didron eliminated these lateral panels because they were stopgaps and not consistent with the overall glazing arrangement.

If Didron's 1877 campaign was responsible for the removal of these panels, the photographs published by Day and Bushnell must predate Didron's work. Thus, they would document the effects of the 1842 restoration campaign supervised by Anne-François Arnaud rather than the state of the church glazing at the turn of the twentieth century.¹⁰ Day does not credit the view of Saint-Urbain published in *Stained Glass*, nor do records at the Victoria and Albert Museum (the book's sponsor) readily indicate

that its pictorial archives contained such a view of the collegiate church.¹¹ Rather, Day could have obtained the image while in Troyes during the 1890s, when he made drawings of Saint-Urbain grisailles later published in his book *Windows*.¹² Like Day, Bushnell does not cite the source of the Saint-Urbain photograph published in his *Storied Windows*. However, one can reasonably presume that he purchased it from Louis Hippolyte Brunon (1863–1931), whom Bushnell recommends as the best supplier in Troyes for photographs of stained glass.¹³ In 1905, Brunon acquired the stock of the photographer Gustave Lancelot (1830–1906), who documented the architecture and glazing of Saint-Urbain in 1876, just prior to Didron and Vincent-Larcher's restorations.¹⁴ According to Abbé Jossier, Lancelot's photography was quite thorough;¹⁵ the glass-plate negative showing the *Kiss of Judas* is, in fact, is part of the Lancelot-Brunon archive now housed at the Archives d'Aube in Troyes.¹⁶

Establishing that the photograph published by Bushnell was taken before the "grande restauration" at Saint-Urbain confirms that both the Museum's panels as well as others from this group were removed by Didron about 1877 during his renovations of the choir. However, it is unlikely that the glass immediately crossed to the art market. It could well have remained in Didron's studio and been sold following his death in 1902. In this catalogue Jane Hayward has remarked that Didron's collection of stained glass was highly valued for its quality in the years immediately after he died,¹⁷ and it is conceivable that the panels were initially sold from Didron's estate. Certainly the large number of pieces displaced from Saint-Urbain and now in American collections, including several in the Glencairn Museum at Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, plus those at Portsmouth Abbey in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, came to light in the first decades of the twentieth century, following Didron's death.¹⁸

While the mode of dispersal from the Church of Saint-Urbain is unclear, it is known that by 1923 these borders with grisaille were in the possession of the Parisian dealer Augustin Lambert. Toward the end of that year he was the vender of twelve such panels to the dealers Joseph (1883–1947) and Ernst Brummer (1891–1964).¹⁹ They sold only one; the piece reproduced in Bushnell went to the Williams College Museum of Art in July 1941.²⁰ The remaining eleven panels stayed among the Brummers' stock and were offered for sale in New York at Parke-Bernet Galleries in 1949, two years after Joseph's death.²¹ In 1982 four of the panels were sold by Sotheby's to an Argentinean collector.²² These four pieces, in turn, were acquired in 1994 by John L. Feldman at Christie's in New York.²³ Feldman donated two panels (1994.180.1,2) to the Museum and retained the other two. The whereabouts of the remaining seven border sections (from the Brummers' original twelve) is unknown.

Original location: Although the Brummer stock cards state that the panels originally came from the Parisian Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (an ascription maintained by both Sotheby's and Christie's),²⁴ there is no evidence linking the panels with the abbey. Furthermore, their style and date (see **Composition, style, and date** below) would place them between the completion of the abbey's Great Chapel of the Virgin (see Nos. 28–40) and the building of the chapter house about 1273, during the abbacy of Gérard de Moret (d.1278).²⁵ The attribution of Nos. 57 and 58 to the Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain is firm, established by the photographs published by Day and Bushnell (see **History of the glass** above).

Despite their secure provenance, the original location for the panels within the Church of Saint-Urbain itself remains unknown. The combination of a thin strip of grisaille edged by a floral border flanked on each side by thin colored fillets suggests that Nos. 57 and 58 were once part of lancet groupings in which nearly square historiated panels were floated within grisaille lancets. In this arrangement, the width of the figural panel extended beyond that of the grisaille panels positioned directly above and below, reducing by half the width of grisaille panels on each side of the figural scene; the shape of these narrow lateral grisailles replicates the distinctive dimensions of the Museum's two panels. Unfortunately, the surviving historiated panels of this overall configuration postdate Nos. 57 and 58 (see below),²⁶ and re-leading has made it impossible to determine whether this peculiar shape was original or whether the panels were cut later to facilitate the installations recorded in the photographs published by Day and Bushnell. Moreover, the Day photograph shows panels similar to the Museum's in the same bay flanking scenes from both the *Infancy of Christ* and the *Passion*, definitely not a reflection of the original arrangement. Thus, these factors – together with our limited knowledge of the Saint-Urbain glazing in the period prior to the fire of 1266 and during the years immediately following (see **Composition, style, and date** below) – offer few clues regarding the panels' initial installation within the church.

Composition, style, and date: The formal organization of the grisaille portion of the Museum's panels employs a successive layering of cross-hatching and abstracted foliate vines overlaid with geometric painted and colored strapwork, a scheme that is characteristic of the early grisailles at Saint-Urbain and evokes the brilliant architectural layering of screens and tracery in the choir. Examples, in addition to Nos. 57 and 58, include the designs illustrated by Lewis Day (57/fig. 3) as well as the composition evident in the Saint-Urbain lancet now at The Cloisters (No. 56A–C) and individual panels now at the Glencairn Museum.²⁷ Four independent, stratified components define this type of grisaille. The initial layer of

pattern, a crosshatched background, appears beneath arching vine tendrils that grow from a vertical stem. Next, a geometric overlay rendered in painted strapwork and outlined with a single lead is superimposed over the floral pattern, while colored strapwork is arranged seemingly at the surface. The only other color comes from tiny floral bosses or clasps.

Like other Saint-Urbain grisaille patterns, the vine tendrils in Nos. 57 and 58 curl outward from a vertical stem and terminate in abstracted trefoil and single buds, which are often tipped with a solitary berry.²⁸ In this design, the vines form an undulating counterpoint to the more regularized – and strictly alternating – organization of painted and colored strapwork. (Conversely, the painted strapwork in the Cloisters lancet No. 56A–C surges in spiraling rhythms throughout the composition).²⁹ The “finely woven” crosshatched background, “appearing,” in Hayward's words, “almost like a matte tone,” emphasizes the elegant arching of the tendrils.³⁰ The effect creates a sense of flowing line under a regularized and static gridwork.

A similar kind of tension and balance exists between the grisaille and border elements of Nos. 57 and 58. The curving vine tendrils in the grisaille grow away from the border, in answer to the bifurcating sprays that unfold in the opposite direction within the border. The sprays are of a type that separates the floral display from the vegetal stalk itself, creating two separate design components.³¹ The stalk terminates in a trefoil head, while the spray – reminiscent of a snapdragon flower (*Antirrhinum majus*) – appears to issue diagonally from between each stalk. Alternating blue green and golden yellow sprays between the pale blue stalks accentuate this modular arrangement. The overall effect is one of unusual dimensionality: the insertion of the sprays at the juncture of two individual stalks suggests a slight depth, which is emphasized by the internal turning and folding of the blossoms' petals in space.

This suggestion of plasticity distinguishes the border design of Nos. 57 and 58 from the more recurrent flatly patterned borders known from Saint-Urbain, including those with repeating integral vegetal stalks, frontally depicted leafy stalks stacked one upon the other, and zigzagging leaves.³² Although Abbé Jossier did not record the border pattern of Nos. 57 and 58 among the many



57/fig. 3. Grisaille designs from France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain (from Day 1909, fig. 263)



57/fig. 4. Detail, Piscina. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain, choir, c.1264–66

border designs illustrating his study of the stained glass at Saint-Urbain (presumably because its panels had already been demounted by Didron), an analogous pattern can be found in the sculpted floral sprays edging the gables of the piscina in the choir (57/fig. 4).³³ Both designs utilize sprays unfolding upward in a split efflorescence: in the piscina, however, the upper leaves of the spray are larger than those below, reversing the relationship seen in the stained-glass border. Nevertheless, the harmonious sense of movement and plasticity shared by the two patterns signals a common theme with variations at play within the ornament of Saint-Urbain.

Such formal correspondences suggest a comparable date for the stained-glass foliate border and the sprays of the piscina gable. The piscina spandrel reliefs showing Pope Urban IV (d.1264) and his nephew Cardinal Ancher (d.1286), who carried on work at the church following Urban's death, have traditionally been interpreted to date the piscina early in the church's history and prior to the fire of 1266 that heavily damaged the choir, especially in its upper reaches (see the chronology for Saint-Urbain discussed in No. 56A–C).³⁴ Certainly, the abstracted nature of the grisaille foliage in Nos. 57 and 58 and the static use of the geometric strapwork suggest that the glass is among the earliest of the Saint-Urbain grisailles. As characterized by Hayward, such panels exhibit little color other than that found in the fluid strapwork and occasional bosses accenting the edge and feature stylized foliate vines woven on densely crosshatched grounds, all of which can be seen in the Museum's glass.³⁵ The Metropolitan's grisailles assuredly predate the Saint-Urbain panels with straightened strapwork and naturalized foliage that appeared soon after the post-1270 glazing campaign began.³⁶ Given the abstracted quality of the grisaille and the rapport between the border design of the glass and the floral sprays of the piscina, which likely dates before the fire of 1266, it would be appropriate to

place the Museum's panels within the first glazing campaign of c.1264–70.

Condition: At least two different batches of colorless glass (both shades of green) were employed in the making of these panels. The discernable light and dark tones of green are united by continuous weathering patterns on both the fronts and backs of the panels. The paint used for the foliate sprays in the borders is redder than that used for the grisaille, which is brownish in tone. As enumerated below in the individual catalogue entries for these two panels, various leading campaigns are quite noticeable, hindering any determination as to whether the current shape of the panels reflects its original form or whether they were cut down to be used in later restoration schemes.

Photographic reference: The panels were photographed by Sotheby's and by Christie's for their sale catalogues, as well as by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Individual negative numbers are given with each catalogue entry.

Bibliography: Brummer Sale 1949, part 2, lot 603; Sotheby's New York Sale 1982, lot 4; Shepard 1990, pp. 181–82; Christie's New York Sale 1994, lot 1; *MMA Annual Report* 1994, p. 39; New York 1999, p. 109.

57. Section of a Border with Grisaille

Rectangular panel: 22.2 × 57.2 cm (8¾ × 22½ in.)

Gift of John L. Feldman, 1994 (1994.108.1)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 57, 57/a, 57/figs. 1–4

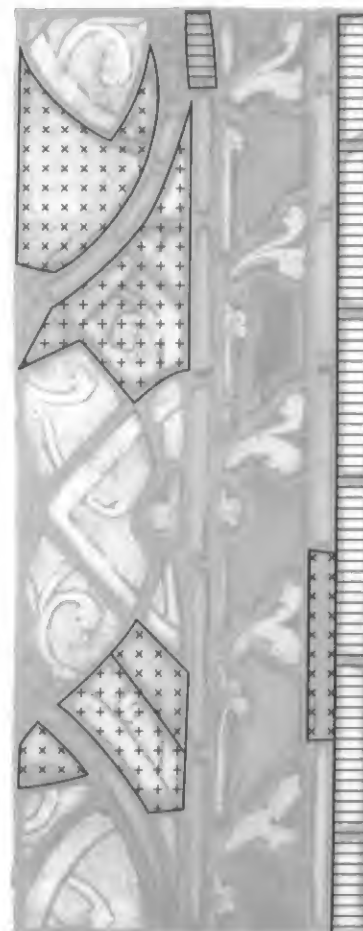
Description: The panel is composed of two distinct vertical elements; a strip of grisaille and a border flanked by two fillets.

The grisaille is painted on colorless glass of a strong green cast. It has four design elements, each of which is superimposed upon the other: a densely crosshatched ground appears beneath an abstracted foliate vine pattern, over which sits painted and leaded geometric strapwork, topped by colored strapwork in quartered-lemon shapes. The foliate vines issue and then arch outward from a stalk that grows upward along the edge fillet. The tendrils of the vine terminate in trefoil leaf buds that occasionally bear one berry at the central tip; a rare single leaf bud is also evident. Termini from other tendrils grow in from the left. Painted strapwork forms a geometric framework over the vine. At the center of the grisaille strip is a half canted square, outlined with a contour lead, with a red-orange trefoil at its middle. Intersecting the canted square from the opposing direction is a single half oval line rendered in lead. The canted square is framed at



57. Section of a Border with Grisaille. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain, c. 1264–70

57/a. Restoration chart



bottom and top by two painted quarter oval straps (stop-gaps) that follow the rounded edges of the red lemon-shaped strapwork, shown in this panel only in quarter view. Painted circular quarters at the upper and lower inward-facing corners of the grisaille nearly fill the interior space of the quartered-lemon straps.

Flanked by thin, colored fillets – royal blue near the outside edge and deep red next to the grisaille – the foliate border comprises a running band of pale blue vegetal stalks painted in reverse on a luminous red background. Only the right portion of each stalk is shown (as if the stalk were cut lengthwise), so that the small splayed leaf cluster at the top of each segment shows two and a half rounded leaves, implying that in full view the stalk would bear a terminating bunch of five. Presented in this manner, the stalks appear to open outward toward the blue fillet. Leafy sprays alternating in blue green and golden yellow and painted in reverse emerge between the pale blue stalks. Each spray is composed of two rounded, curling leaves that bifurcate, with an upward-turning frond at top and larger, more bulbous foliage at the bottom. Broad brush strokes contour the leaves, while thin, short, and swiftly drawn lines delineate the leaf fork and veins.

Condition: The overall grisaille design of this panel has been substantively altered by the insertion of stopgaps from the same series and retouching of several key pieces

of glass. Comparison with other panels from this series indicates that the central lead line forming a half circle should be composed of edge-painted strapwork, as in No. 58. Instead, stopgaps – both native and foreign to the series – were inserted, creating a helix-like configuration in which painted straps hug those in red and run counter to the other painted straps that form quarter circles at the upper and lower corners of the grisaille. The result is a pattern unique among the extant panels and indeed among the entire group, as can be discerned from the tiny photographs included in the Brummer archives at The Cloisters.³⁷ It is possible that this panel was similar to the example at Williams College, in which the canted square overlaps the circular strap. Moreover, these alterations may not be recent, as the consistent weathering on the back of the panel does not immediately betray these design changes.

Nevertheless, several campaigns of leading and repairs are readily apparent, affirmed by the use throughout the panel of both older and ridged leads as well as more contemporary flat leads. Hardened putty between the glass and the leads is broadly visible. Grozed edges are clearly perceptible on a number of pieces where the leads are pulling away from the glass. New soldering is also evident at the lead joints. Unmended cracks still present are visible in the photograph taken by Sotheby's as early as the 1982 sale.³⁸ Overall, the paint is chipped and worn. At the lower-right edge, a painted number (perhaps an inventory number) has flaked off, but it is possible to recognize it as a Roman numeral, perhaps "II." No conservation work has been undertaken on the panel at the Museum.

Photographic reference: Negative 258763.

58. Section of a Border with Grisaille

Rectangular panel: 22.2 × 57.2 cm (8¾ × 22 in.)

Gift of John L. Feldman, 1994 (1994.108.2)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 58, 58/a

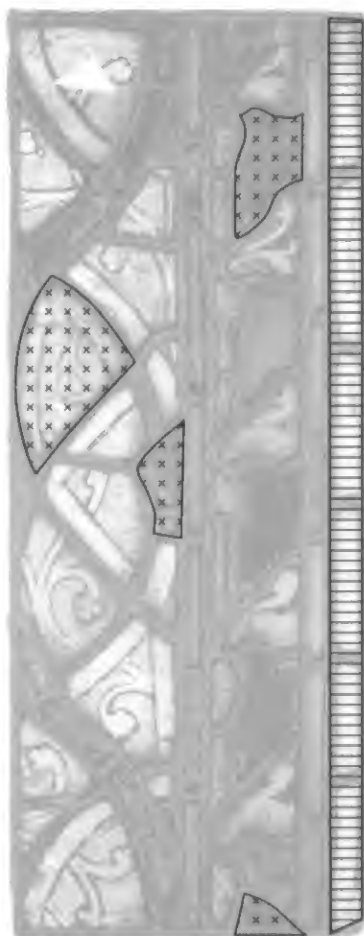
Description: The grisaille and border pattern repeats that of No. 57, but in this case the overall grisaille design is better preserved. The painted strapwork forms a series of inverted partial circles: a quarter circle at the top, followed by a half circle at the middle, with a quarter circle at the bottom. The central half circle overlaps the canted square.

Condition: Despite the survival of the grisaille pattern more or less intact, the panel itself is in poor condition, with many cracks and losses of glass. In one case, the glass is held together with tape on the front surface. As in No. 57, hardened putty obscures the paint, particularly in the border. Paint loss has reduced several of the border



58. Section of a Border with Grisaille. France, Troyes, Collegiate Church of Saint-Urbain, c. 1264–70

58/a. Restoration chart



sprays to chunky clumps, with little of their original delicacy remaining. The same heavy use of soldering seen in No. 57 is visible here. No conservation work has been undertaken on the panel at the Museum.

Photographic reference: Negative 258764.

M.B.S.

NOTES

- For the Feldman panels, see Christie's New York Sale 1994, lot 1; for the Williams College glass, see Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 42–43, and CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 62.
- Meredith Lillich made this remarkable identification in Hayward and Lillich 1998, fig. 4. The grisaille flanks the scene of the *Kiss of Judas* reproduced in Bushnell 1914, opposite p. 267.
- Day 1903, fig. 30. This connection was first pointed out in Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, p. 43. Lillich has ascertained that the window (which also included the *Massacre of the Innocents*) seen in the photograph is bay 2; see Lillich in Hayward and Lillich 1998, figs. 6 and 8C.
- I am indebted to Michael Davis and Claudine Lautier, who verified that the archives for Saint-Urbain do not indicate that the glass was removed from the church for safekeeping during World War I. (The glass was, however, stored during World War II; see CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 278.) Although medieval glazings were demounted from many French churches during World War I (see Pastan and Shepard 1997, p. 29 n. 28), it was by no means a comprehensive initiative throughout the country.
- Grodecki 1957, p. 124. Abbé Jossier specifies the glazing restoration to 1877–1904; Jossier 1912, pp. 19–22.
- Grodecki 1957, p. 124, and Jossier 1912, pp. 20–24.
- Ibid.*, pp. 23 and 75–84.
- Ibid.*, pp. 70 and 75–84.
- Lillich in Hayward and Lillich 1998, fig. 4.
- See CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 278.
- Day 1903, after p. xii and fig. 30. Thanks are due Richard Marks as well as Martin Durrant, Mark Haworth-Booth, Yuying Liang, and the many colleagues at the Victoria and Albert Museum in the departments of Ceramics and Glass, Photography, and the Photo Library with whom I discussed the source of this photograph. Future consultation of Victoria and Albert Museum "Guardbooks" now in off-site storage may further elucidate this matter.
- Following its initial publication in 1897, *Windows* won general acclaim and was reprinted in several subsequent editions; see Ross 1929–30, p. 6. For the grisailles, see Day 1909, pp. 161 and 323.
- Bushnell 1914, p. 319.
- I am obliged to Elizabeth Carson Pastan for her critical assistance in researching Brunon. For Lancelot, see Troyes 1981 and Jossier 1912, pp. 68–69, who states that Lancelot took the pre-restoration photographs in 1876. For the transaction between Brunon and Lancelot, see Troyes 1981, p. 9, and Jossier 1912, pp. 68–69.
- "Quand, en 1876, on entreprit la restauration générale du monument, on commença par descendre toutes les verrières du sanctuaire, du chœur, des chapelles, du transept; et, auparavant, on les fit photographier. Le travail fut confié à M. Gustave Lancelot, rue Thiers, 10 . . . Ces clichés existent toujours. Ils sont en bon état de conservation. La collection est, on peut dire, complète." Jossier 1912, pp. 68–69. See also Helen Jackson Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, p. 89.
- The *Kiss of Judas* is catalogued in the Lancelot-Brunon archive at the Archives d'Aube, Troyes, as Box 5, no. 104. I am most grateful to Joëlle Poncet and Claire Pigné of the Archives d'Aube, who located this negative.
- See, for example, Nos. 12 and 13 and Nos. 41 and 46, esp. n. 15, as well as Lafond 1978, p. 175 n. 225.
- It has always been assumed that Didron's estate was the conduit for glass out of Saint-Urbain; CV France, *Recensement IV*, p. 278. For Saint-Urbain panels now at the Glencairn Museum, see New York 1982, pp. 213 and 215; for those at Portsmouth Abbey, see CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 207, and Jossier 1912, p. 71.
- New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Joseph and Ernst Brummer Records, Cloisters Archives, nos. P5380–P5391. The date of this transaction precludes any sale surrounding the early years of World War II, as suggested in Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, p. 43. The Brummers also handled additional pieces of stained-glass ornament from Saint-Urbain. Note the border fragments embellished with fleur-de-lys that Lillich has identified as coming from the axial bay of the lower choir now in the Duke University Museum. Lillich in Hayward and Lillich 1998, fig. 8A; see also Bruzelius and Meredith 1991, p. 198, colorplate XII; and CV US, *Checklist II*, p. 92. The relationship between the Parisian and New York branches of the Brummer enterprise is outlined in Bruzelius and Meredith 1991, pp. 6–7.
- Cambridge, Massachusetts 1978, pp. 42–43, and CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 62. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Joseph and Ernst Brummer Records, Cloisters Archives, no. P5380.
- Brummer Sale 1949, part 2, lot 603: "Eleven Romanesque Stained and Painted Glass Borders. French, XIII Century. A fine series; with bands of grisaille, and foliated border in ruby, green, blue and yellow." See also Bruzelius and Meredith 1991, pp. 6–7. The history of this group was initially summarized in Shepard 1990, pp. 181–82.
- Conversation between Sotheby's and Mary B. Shepard, 1985. Sotheby's New York Sale 1982, lot 4.
- Christie's New York Sale 1994, lot 1.
- Brummer Sale 1949, part 2, lot 603; Sotheby's New York Sale 1982, lot 4; Christie's New York Sale 1994, lot 1.

25. For the chapter house, see Shepard 1990, pp. 10 and 20, and Paris 1998, p. 395. While no definitive record of the chapter-house glazing survives, it is interesting to note a rapport between two individual palmate-shaped leaves associated with Saint-Urbain and Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The Saint-Urbain example is stopgapped into one of the panels now owned by John Feldman, while the leaf from Saint-Germain-des-Prés is found on a fragment of glass excavated in the 1980s from the Oratory of Saint-Symphorien in the church itself under the supervision of Pierre Colas. Both exhibit strikingly similar interpretations of the palmate leaf shape as well as venation patterns; see Shepard 1990, pp. 176–77 and 182.
26. These panels are now generally dated to the 1270s and '80s; see CV France, *Recensement* IV, pp. 279–83, and Lillich in Hayward and Lillich 1998, p. 165.
27. For the patterns illustrated by Day, see Day 1909, esp. fig. 263; for the Glencairn panels (03.SG.60 and 03.SG.76), see CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 133. This design principle is also apparent in three additional grisailles at Glencairn (03.SG.58, 03.SG.113, and 03.SG.116); see CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 134.
28. As per Hayward and Lillich 1998, p. 172.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., p. 173.
31. A contrast to this approach can be seen in the earlier (c.1247) borders from the St. Vincent series of the Great Chapel of the Virgin at the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (see Nos. 28–38), where the outward-facing leaf head and its stalk are conceived as a single unit.
32. See, for example, Jossier 1912, pp. 1, 19, and 62, respectively.
33. For the piscina, see also Kimpel and Suckale 1985, fig. 463, and Salet 1957, p. 105.
34. For the date of the piscina, see Hayward and Lillich 1998, p. 167; Davis 1984, p. 853 n. 21; and Salet 1957, p. 105. For an overview of the effects of the 1266 fire, see Davis 1984, pp. 851–52, and Bruzelius 1987, pp. 638–39. I am grateful to Michael Davis for his correspondence on the dating of the piscina.
35. Hayward and Lillich 1998, p. 172, and the discussion of *Style and date* in No. 56A–C.
36. Ibid.
37. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Joseph and Ernst Brummer Records, Cloisters Archives, nos. P5380–P5391.
38. Photograph in the collection of Mary B. Shepard. Sotheby's did not illustrate this panel in its 1982 sale catalogue; all four panels were later published by Christie's, although in reverse.

59 & 60. TWO PANELS FROM GRISAILLE BAND WINDOWS

France (Orne), Sées, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protas, Chapel of Mary Magdalene
1270–80

Related material: France, Champs-sur-Marne (Seine-et-Marne), Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, grisaille panel with pattern similar to that of No. 59 (negative MH304746); United States, New York, Corning, Corning Museum of Glass, grisaille lancet (51.3.228); Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum, four grisaille panels (03.SG.48, 03.SG.53, 03.SG.54, and 03.SG.78).

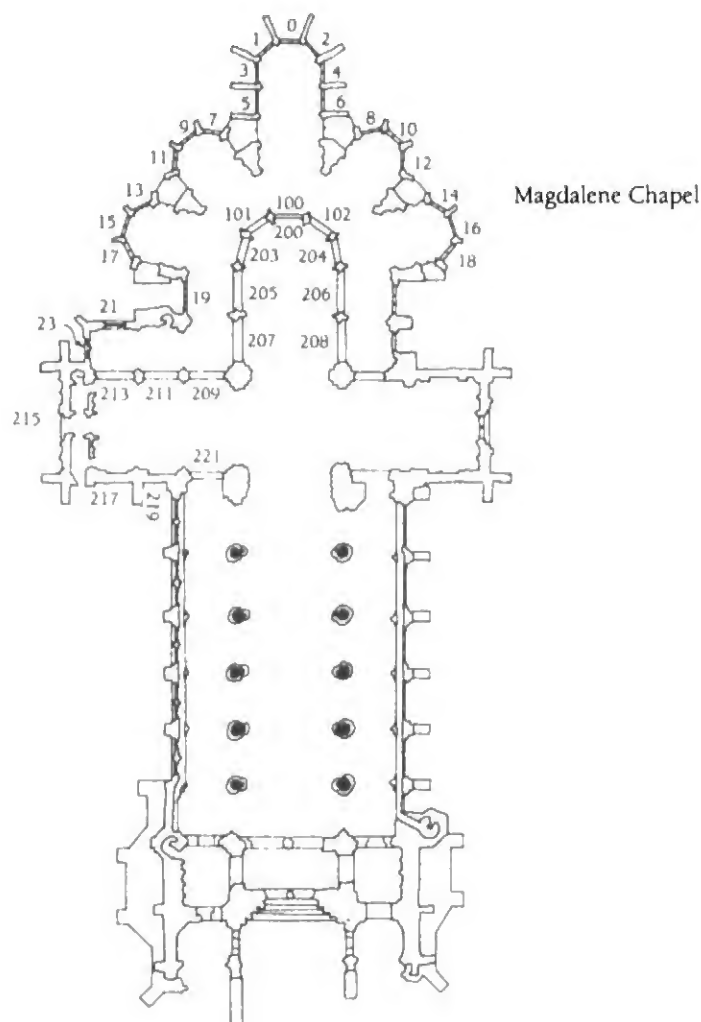
History of the glass: Jean Lafond has demonstrated that the choir windows of the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protas at Sées can be quite securely dated between 1270 and 1280 on the basis of donors and an inscription that credits Jean de Bernières, bishop of Sées from 1278 to 1294, with having completed the cathedral.¹ The glass of the choir has suffered enormously over the centuries, from the outset because of architectural instability, the result of poor soil and inadequate foundations. Following the Hundred Years War in 1516, the facade required additional buttressing, and vaults were replaced by a wood ceiling to lighten the load. At the end of the sixteenth century, the bishop of Sées brought suit against the heirs of his predecessors, claiming that indispensable work on the cathedral had not been done; the litigation lasted one hundred and fifty years.² The building was in such bad condition in 1740 that entrance into the cathedral was forbidden. After temporary repairs, the choir was reopened the following year. Bishop du Plessis d'Argentré,

elected in 1775 with the power of the throne behind him, acquired the necessary funds and engaged the architect Joseph Brousseau (1733–1797) to begin a restoration. By 1780 Brousseau presented a plan of the existing building and specifications for its restoration;³ his work formed the guidelines for the architects who succeeded him, focusing on stabilizing the building and making repairs to the exterior and the towers. (Little seems to have been done to the interior beyond Brousseau's installation of a new high altar.)

The state of the cathedral in 1843 can be deduced from a letter, dated 5 September of that year, addressed by Ruprich-Robert père to the Comité Historique des Arts et Monuments: "I was assailed by a shower of stones even in the choir, by street children who seem to have established themselves there without any opposition. The altars have been profaned. The building appears to be abandoned, leaving only the stained glass and the sculptures to suffer."⁴ In 1849 Ruprich-Robert's son Victor became architect in charge of the cathedral, and under new direction restoration began in earnest. After consolidation of the foundations and work on the transept, in 1880 he tackled the choir, which he razed and rebuilt stone by stone.

Louis Steinheil (1814–1885) was in charge of the restoration of the stained glass, which coincided with the nineteenth-century reconstruction of the choir. It was he who made the cartoons and Charles Leprévost (d. 1903) who carried out the actual repairs and replacements. After Steinheil's death in 1885, Leprévost continued to work on his own. Notes made by Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) during a visit to Sées in 1860, before the restoration had begun,⁵ allow us to assess the extent to which Steinheil and Leprévost transformed the

glazing. After so many years of neglect, the restoration was drastic. Most of the grisailles, especially those in the lower windows, were made anew. The glass was not reinstalled in the cathedral until 1907; some remained in Leprévost's collection at his death in 1903.⁶ However, Leprévost, to his credit, did a careful job of copying the grisaille patterns, making it possible to identify the original location of those old panels that have come to light in collections.⁷ The good condition of most of the panels from Sées now in American collections indicates that they hardly warranted removal from the church, but Leprévost apparently had other uses for the debris, not the least of which may have been to augment his own collection.⁸ As in other cases in the Museum's collection, the panels presumably passed from Leprévost's collection to that of Michel Acézat (1878–1944), glazier, restorer, dealer, and collector.⁹ Acézat's glass was sold by his daughter in 1969, twenty-five years after his death. The Museum purchased No. 59 at the sale. No. 60 was bought by Michel Meyer, a Parisian dealer, who later sold it to the Zurich dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler, from whom the Museum acquired it.



59/fig. 1. Floor plan, Sées, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais (after Lillich 1994, p. 172)

Original location: The Norman cathedral at Sées (59/fig. 1) was the first church known to be completely glazed with a combination of grisaille and colored glass, largely in a formula called the band window.¹⁰ The Cloisters panels originate from windows in the radiating Chapel of Mary Magdalene (now Sacre Coeur), which was composed – like their companions in the other radiating chapels – of a large, three-panel, canopied narrative scene mounted between three registers of grisaille above and beneath it. In the Magdalene Chapel, the westernmost radiating chapel on the south side of the choir, all of the grisaille panels, both above and below the figural glass, are new. The grisaille patterns that now exist in the central bay 16 of that chapel repeat exactly in design and color those of No. 59.¹¹ Panel No. 60 has the same geranium-leaf pattern and central *fermaillet* seen in the grisaille panels currently in bay 14, the southeast window in the Magdalene Chapel. Only one figural scene from the legend of this saint, the *Meal in the House of Simon*, is original, and it has been confused in restoration.¹² Based on what is known of the condition of the cathedral's glass prior to restoration and glass from Sées that has been discovered in other collections, Leprévost very carefully duplicated original compositions.¹³ On this basis, it can be assumed that the Cloisters panels came originally from these two double-light bays in the Magdalene Chapel of the choir of the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Sées.

Bibliography: Acézat Sale 1969, lots 22 and 25 (sold with panels from the Château de Bouvreuil, Rouen), lists the panels without giving provenance; New York 1971, no. 12 (No. 59); Houston 1974, p. 25, no. 2, gives the provenance of No. 59 as Rouen; New York 1982, p. 225, mentions No. 59 as similar to panels from Sées in the Pitcairn Collection at the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania; MMA *Annual Report* 1983, p. 41, notes the purchase of No. 60 by the Museum; Lillich 1983, p. 126, gives the provenance of No. 59 as the Magdalene Chapel of the Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais at Sées; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 103, gives basic information and bibliography; Helen Jackson Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, pp. 85–86 and figs. 4–5, locates the panels in the Magdalene Chapel of Sées in bay sIX for No. 59 and bay sVIII for No. 60; Lillich 1990, p. 153; Lillich 1994, p. 199; [New York 1999, p. 117, publishes No. 60, including a photograph (negative 228942) showing the glass during conservation].

59. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 59 × 57 cm (23½ × 22½ in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1969 (69.236.10)

Ill. nos. 59, 59/a, 59/fig. 1

Description: A central canted square of amber glass painted to reveal a four-petaled flower is situated within a circle of streaky red glass. Lozenge-shaped central straps intersect vertically and are leaded on one side only; they in turn intersect straps composed of half and quarter quatrefoils that are linked vertically along the lateral edges of

the panel. A central stem rises through the panel, its branches weaving tendrils and stylized fig leaves under the strapwork pattern. The colorless glass with a greenish tint, silver in color when illuminated, is finely cross-hatched. The border attached to the sides is composed of cobalt blue quarries interspersed alternately with squares of red and amber, upon which are painted four-petaled flowers and five-petaled rosettes.

Condition: The panel was restored in 1971. Six pieces of glass were replaced by plain green glass and repainted; new leading was added. Among other previous work, two



59. Grisaille Panel. France, Sées, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Chapel of Mary Magdalene, 1270–80



59/a. Restoration chart

painted border pieces were added, one a stopgap from another window and the other repainted old glass. The colorless glass is evenly and often deeply pitted on the back and has a thick corrosion skin. The colored glass has small, fine pits.

Composition: In the scheme of stylistic evolution that Lillich has proposed to explain changes in the design of thirteenth-century grisaille, the glass at Sées can be seen as transitional.¹⁴ As she states, grisaille decoration during the second two quarters of the thirteenth century was undergoing a change from centripetal organization to vertical orientation. Strapwork was evolving from medallion-like configurations to regularized quarries. Foliage was developing from conventionalized palmettes to naturalized leaf forms, and crosshatched grounds were eschewed for clear, unpainted fields. During the transitional period all of these innovations were practiced at various sites and in various combinations along with traditional techniques. The Cloisters panel exhibits, in the undulating strapwork at its sides and corners, the bulged quarries of the transitional period, while the new tendency toward straight straps can be detected in the lozenges at the center of the panel (even though they still interlock).

Style and technique: This panel is painted with considerable strength and boldness of line. The leaf and stem outlines and the strap edges are painted with a fully charged brush that maintains an even density throughout the stroke, often stopping carefully at a junction, such as the tip of a frond, to be reloaded. The strong outline is matched by the density of the hatching. The paint is very reddish in color.

The foliage reflects the artist's attempt to represent botanically accurate fig leaves growing upward on a central, rising stem. Only in the center of the panel is the leaf shown in profile; elsewhere the leaf is always presented in full view and always has five veins. Though this foliage admittedly lacks the verve and sophistication of that from the Château de Bouvreuil at Rouen, Lillich's characterization of the drawing as "bloated and swollen" seems severe.¹⁵ Rather, it is the product of an artist who has carefully observed nature and who has faithfully tried to paint what he has seen; timidly, he remains within the confines of his traditional training. This is especially noticeable in the ground, where he has retained cross-hatching, and in the borders, where the flora is overtly stylized.

Simplicity, if not a certain lack of originality, marks the border designs. The five-petaled rosette and the quartrefoil are both found in at least three other windows at Sées. Lillich's assessment of this master's style as "routine" is perhaps justified.¹⁶ Like the other grisaille windows at Sées, however, the particularly silvery quality of the light-green tinted glass is relieved by the bright, true colors of the borders and the large, colorful prominence of the center bosses.

Date: Lafond's dating of c. 1270–80 for the choir glazing of Sées is based on the coordination of the donors portrayed in the windows with individuals mentioned in the register of pastoral visits made by Eudes Rigaud (d. 1275), archbishop of Rouen, between 1261 and 1269.¹⁷ As far as the grisailles are concerned, a date before 1280 accords with their transitional style.

Photographic reference: The panel was photographed in 1971, after restoration, negative 196813.

60. Grisaille Panel

Rectangular panel: 55.8 × 57.1 cm (22 × 22½ in.)
The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.204.3)

Ill. nos. 60, 60/a, 60/1, 60/fig. 1

Description: In the center of the panel is a large *fermaillet* composed of streaky red pointed leaves, accented by thin lines of trace paint, surrounding a green center painted to reveal a stylized quatrefoil; four quartered circles of golden yellow glass articulated with stylized petals join the leaves. Curving tendrils sprouting stylized geranium leaves issue from a central vertical stem. A large central strapwork quatrefoil, leaded on alternate sides, surrounds the *fermaillet* and is intersected by strapwork diagonals, leaded on alternate sides. The central strapwork quatrefoil is also intersected at the four cardinal points by half canted squares. Quartered strapwork circles in the four corners



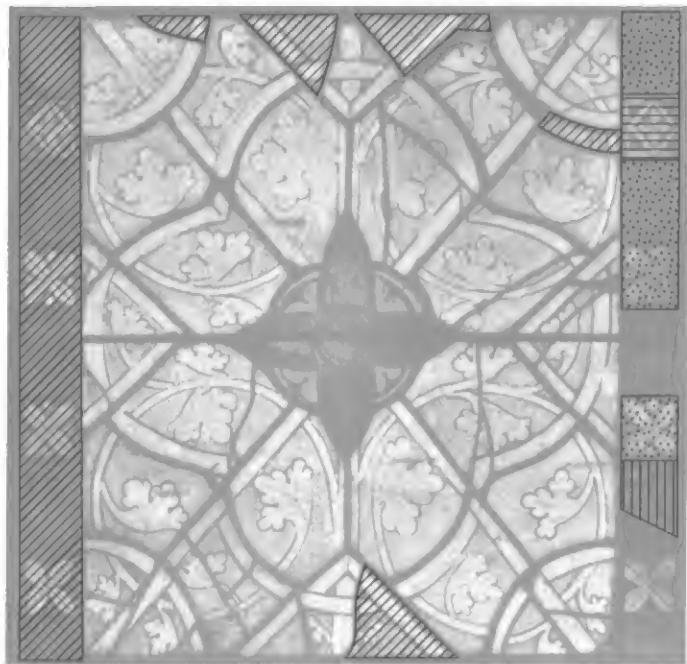
60. Grisaille Panel. France, Sées, Cathedral of Saint-Gervais-et-Saint-Protais, Chapel of Mary Magdalene, 1270–80

complete the design of the panel. The light-green tinted glass, silver in color when illuminated, is finely cross-hatched. The border is composed of golden yellow four-petaled flowers of various stylized types that alternate with broader dark, streaky red rectangular quarries.

Condition: Except for the few insertions of new glass made at the top and bottom of the panel to replace the ordinary window glass probably added at the time of the Acézat sale in 1969 or later, the panel is in excellent condition. The left border was removed at an unknown time between 1969 and 1982, when it was acquired by the Museum (60/1); the border was replaced by modern glass shortly thereafter. The red glass of the existing right border has been covered with mat paint, perhaps to hide the several places where the red flash has pitted through to the base

glass. Three of the painted quarries are stopgaps, one of which has been repainted. Corrosion pits, numerous and deep, as well as a whitish gray skin cover the back surface of the glass. The front is notable for an even coating of fine pits. One piece at upper left bears particularly deep pits, which follow the paint line. Pitting on the colored glass is much finer and denser.

Composition and style: Though this panel's foliage appears to be that of a geranium plant, it is painted in such a stylized way that it strongly resembles three palmettes joined together and issuing from a single stem; it is as though the traditional acanthus buds of earlier grisaille had mutated into these fleshy forms. Very similar foliage and almost identical strapwork patterns, albeit somewhat simpler, are found in a composed lancet (60/fig. 1) from Sées, now in



60/a. Restoration chart

the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York, which Lillich has attributed to the Magdalene Master.¹⁸

The character of the grisaille painting of No. 60 is very different from that of No. 59. Occasional hairpin loops at the stem joints suggest the folding of leaves in space, an expression of three-dimensional form not attempted in No. 59. The leaf veins also follow this fold. The stem pat-



60/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration

60/fig. 1. Grisaille
Lancet. France, Sées,
Cathedral of Saint-
Gervais-et-Saint-
Protais, Chapel of
St. Augustine, 1270–80.
Corning Museum
of Glass, Corning,
New York



tern is planned symmetrically so that each of the four branches spirals within a quarter of the panel. This symmetry repeats the absolutely centralized design of the strapwork. As in the case of No. 59, the two systems of strapwork and foliage function independently of each other: the strapwork lies on a plane above the foliage, and they do not interlace. Below these elements is the cross-hatched ground, much lighter and finer in density here than in No. 59.

Date: The dating of this panel to the decade of the 1270s follows the same rationale as that of No. 59, which was based on Lafond's analysis.¹⁹

Photographic reference: The photograph of this panel published by Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers*, fig. 5, negative 228942, was taken when the panel was in restoration and all of the glass was not yet assembled. Negative 232122 documents the panel just before restoration, without the added border; negative 253433 shows the panel's post-restoration state.

NOTES

1. Lafond 1954, pp. 59–61, discusses the donors of the glass in relation to what is known about them through information recorded in the *Registre des visites pastorales*, which documents visits made between 1261 and 1269 by the archbishop of Rouen, Eudes Rigaud, a councilor of Louis IX who died in 1275. (For a translation, see Brown and O'Sullivan 1964.) Among the donors cited are Master Osmont, represented in the first window on the north side of the clerestory, who is mentioned initially in 1255 as clerk of the bishop of Sées. Guy de Merle, cantor of Rouen, was elected bishop of Lisieux in 1267 and died in 1285. He is the donor of the first window on the south side. Finally, Jean de Bernières, bishop of Sées from 1278 to 1294, was the donor of the east window of the Chapel of Saint-Latuin. A comparison of these dates, since Jean de Bernières is also noted as having finished the choir, suggested to Lafond a span of c.1270–80 as the most likely date for the windows; see also Lafond 1953, pp. 349–52. [The most thorough and recent study of the glazing of Sées, which includes further discussion of the use of donors in dating, is Lillich 1994, pp. 168–220.]
2. On the history of the restorations, see Gobillot 1954, pp. 40–44; [see also Lillich 1994, pp. 174–75.]
3. Paris, Archives Nationales, G⁹160, no. 17.
4. Lafond 1954, p. 63, cited in the original French.
5. Guilhermy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. nouv. acq. fr. 6109, fols. 64v–69. [See Lillich 1994, p. 175.]
6. See n. 7 below.
7. Several original panels were salvaged from Leprévost's atelier in Paris and catalogued (Archives de la Direction de l'Architecture "Inventaire," Dossier Vitraux, 1884) by the eminent stained-glass scholar and glass painter Lucien Magne (1849–1916), inspector general of the Monuments Historiques, and exhibited for a time (1919–34) in the Musée des Monuments National Français at the Palais du Trocadéro in Paris; they are now in storage at Champs-sur-Marne (Magne 1911, p. 6, nos. 58–60, as cited in Lafond 1954, p. 63 n. 1). Magne most likely took the best of Leprévost's panels for his Musée des Monuments Français, but based on what has survived, as well as comparison with Guilhermy's notes, there must have been many more. In addition to the Cloisters Sées grisaille panels, five panels from Sées have been identified in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (CV US, *Checklist II*, pp. 134–35) and four more in the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York (Lillich 1983, pp. 124–26).
8. In the nineteenth century it was common for damaged grisaille glass to be removed and new glass made in its place. The discarded old glass was usually kept by the restorer either to be used again as a stopgap or retained as a collector's item. Indeed, all glazier-restorers, including Leprévost, were collector's of stained glass. Acquisitions of such glass could be made at atelier estate sales. Lucien Magne wrote in 1903 to the Monuments Historiques that "recently, after the deaths of Didron and Leprévost, very important acquisitions could have been made"; see Lafond 1978, p. 175 n. 225, citing Lucien Magne, letter of 11 March 1903, Paris, Archives of the Monuments Historiques. See also Nos. 41–46, nn. 13–16.
9. See also Nos. 41–46 and 48–55. Acézat came naturally by his interest in collecting since his father, who died when he was still a child, was an antique dealer and stained-glass collector; see Lafond 1978, p. 175. Acézat owned an exceptional number of grisaille panels, including those from Bourges now in The Cloisters Collection, which were most likely acquired by him in 1903 at the Leprévost atelier sale. Though Acézat sold many pieces of stained glass both in Europe and America, the vast majority of the panels sold in 1969 from his estate were grisailles, and most of those were patched together rather than actually restored – in effect, more leftovers from his business as a dealer than a collection, properly termed. See Acézat Sale 1969, lots 19–27 and 38–40, and a letter, dated 8 December 1969, to the author from Jean Lafond, The Cloisters, departmental files.
10. [Lillich 1994, pp. 169–70. For the band window, see *ibid.*, p. 197.] and Lillich 1970, pp. 26–33.
11. Lillich 1983, p. 126, and Zakin in CV US, *Occasional Papers I*, p. 86.
12. Lafond 1954, pp. 72–73.
13. See n. 5 above as well as New York 1982, pp. 223–25, and Lillich 1983, pp. 125–26, both of which discuss the "Canons of Sées" panel now in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, that was removed from the St. Augustine chapel and replaced by an exact copy made by Leprévost during the restoration of 1880.
14. For Lillich's analysis of thirteenth-century grisaille, see Lillich 1972, pp. 1–18; Lillich 1973, pp. 69–78; and Lillich 1978, pp. 26–27. [For the Sées grisailles, see Lillich 1994, pp. 198–201.]
15. Lillich 1983, p. 126.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 125–26.
17. See n. 1 above.
18. Lillich 1983, p. 126. [For a fuller discussion of this artist, see Lillich 1994, pp. 210–11; for a discussion of the Sées grisaille, see *ibid.*, pp. 198–201.]
19. See n. 1 above.

61. ORNAMENTAL ROUNDEL

England, attributed to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Salisbury (Wiltshire), Cloister, north walk

c.1260–70

Related material: Great Britain, Little Faringdon (Oxfordshire), parish church.¹

History of the glass: In the spring of 1913 the London-based art dealer Grosvenor Thomas (1856–1923) held the first exhibition of his collection of stained glass in New York.² Included in the display, held at the Charles Gallery on Fifth Avenue, was this ornamental roundel.³ No information about the panel has come to light that predates the catalogue description generated for the Thomas exhibition. In the catalogue the piece is attributed to the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Salisbury on the basis of comparisons with ornamental panels now at St. Leonard's Church in Grateley (Hampshire), which had been discarded during the drastic remodeling of the cathedral undertaken by James Wyatt (1746–1813) in 1789.⁴ Under orders from the bishop, as well as the dean and chapter, the medieval glass at Salisbury was removed and then disassembled so that the leads could be melted down

61/1. CLEMENT HEATON,
Watercolor tracing of
No. 61. Department of
Rare Books and Special
Collections, Princeton
University, Princeton,
New Jersey



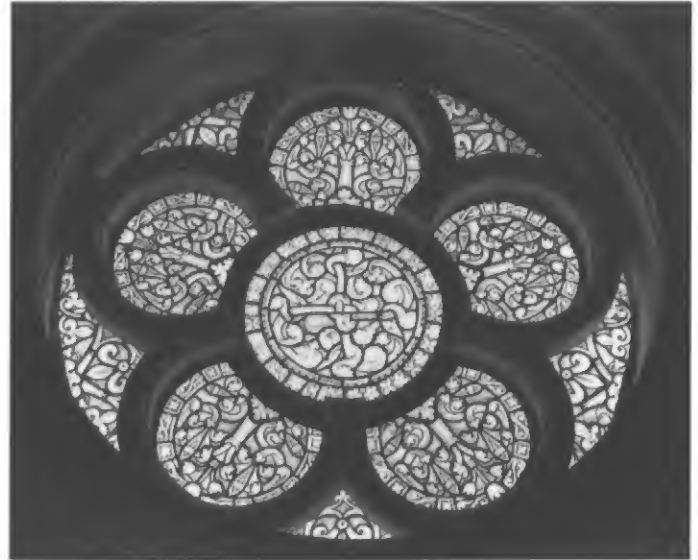
61/fig. 1. Roundel with Berries and Foliage. England, Salisbury,
attributed to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary
c. 1260–70. Now at Little Faringdon Parish Church, Oxfordshire

and reused. Much of the glass itself was ultimately dumped as fill into the town ditch.⁵ Even at that time, however, certain discerning connoisseurs had begun to acquire fragments that ultimately found their way into collections and into the commerce of art. [As late as 1803 Salisbury glass was available for the taking. In that year a writer to *The Gentleman's Magazine* observed that "The north Cloister, by a peculiar circumstance unparalleled in all other Cathedrals, stands detached from the South wall of the nave, whereby an avenue is obtained; . . . it is at present of much service in being made the 'rubbish' repository of the religious pile. Here let the infatuated Antiquary, like me, pore out for broken painted glass."⁶] According to church records at St. Leonard's in Grateley, the ornamental glass now in a window on the south side of the nave was rescued from a scrap heap at Salisbury and given to the church in 1787 by William Benson Earle (1740–1796).⁷ The bifurcating, double-leaf foliage in the borders of the glass at Grateley is similar to that in the Museum's roundel, which is, in turn, largely comparable not only to foliage from the Jesse Tree window at Salisbury, now in the south aisle of the nave, but also to the foliate pattern of a grisaille panel from Salisbury recorded by Charles Winston.⁸ There is no definitive proof, however, that the Metropolitan's roundel came from Salisbury.

Remarkably, there is an exact duplicate of the roundel, lacking a pearled edge, at Little Faringdon Parish Church (61/fig. 1) in Oxfordshire, which is also said, without confirmation, to have come from Salisbury.⁹ The Little Faringdon panel, unfortunately, has no connection with the dealer Grosvenor Thomas, nor is it known how the church obtained it. [No records for the church at Little Faringdon exist prior to 1864, when the church and surrounding land were acquired by the de Mauley family, in whose possession they remain. Nonetheless, the church appears to have been in use at the turn of the nineteenth century, quite possibly the period in which the roundel was acquired. Activity at the church is substantiated not only by a surviving eighteenth-century paten, now in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, but also by several dated elements within the building, including the north bell in the church tower that is inscribed "James Wells, Aldourne, Wilts. 1805," and a memorial on the north wall of the chancel that is dated 1833.¹⁰ The window presently containing the foliate roundel, together with an arrangement of other panels of old glass, is not original to the church but appears to have been inserted on the south side in an opening that may have once served as the principal entrance to the church. The arrangement of the glass (a melange of English silver-stained fragments, Netherlandish panels,¹¹ and the thirteenth-century roundel in question) is typical of early nineteenth-century church settings, which used colorless lozenge panels of glass to surround "ancient" panels.¹² By extension, such an arrangement may provide a general dating for Little Faringdon's acquisition of its roundel.]

Further documentation of the Museum's panel was found at Princeton University among the watercolors and sketches given to the University by the English stained-glass painter Clement Heaton (1861–1940). A full-scale watercolor tracing of the piece is marked "fr. Metropolitan Mus^m, Salisbury Cath^d" (61/1).¹³ Still unknown, regrettably, is the date when Heaton executed the drawing. If he made it while he was still in England, before his move to the United States in 1914, the watercolor could possibly provide one more independent piece of evidence for Salisbury as the panel's place of origin. As far as we know, however, Heaton was probably just repeating the dealer's provenance, as accepted by the Museum.

Original location: If the Museum's roundel does in fact come from Salisbury Cathedral, there are few apertures within the building complex that could have contained it. Considering its present shape and size, the roundel could have served either as an ornamental boss in a figural window or as a tracery light in either a figural or a grisaille window.¹⁴ Yet the designs of ornamental bosses are generally concentric, unlike the motif in this roundel.¹⁵ Tracery lights, particularly when multi-foiled, are concentric only in their totality of design, offering a more suitable template



61/fig. 2. Tracery rosette. Austria, Abbey of Heiligenkreuz, cloister, 1220–40/50

for the Museum's roundel. Examples of such traceried rosettes are numerous; among the best are those found in the cloister of the Cistercian Abbey at Heiligenkreuz near Vienna, Austria (61/fig. 2), glazed between 1220 and 1240/50, where six of the arcade lights on the south and west sides have retained their original glass.¹⁶ Other examples survive in the Cistercian cloister at Wettingen, in Switzerland.¹⁷ Typically, the foils of these rosettes surround a concentrically designed center and are composed of sprays of foliage springing from the point of tangency, similar to the arrangement in the Museum's roundel. The completion of each foil's circular perimeter is often cut off at this point by the arc of the central medallion, which could explain the arch-shaped fill at the base of the Museum's roundel and the loss in this area of the pearled fillet. The base of the Little Faringdon roundel is a stopgap.

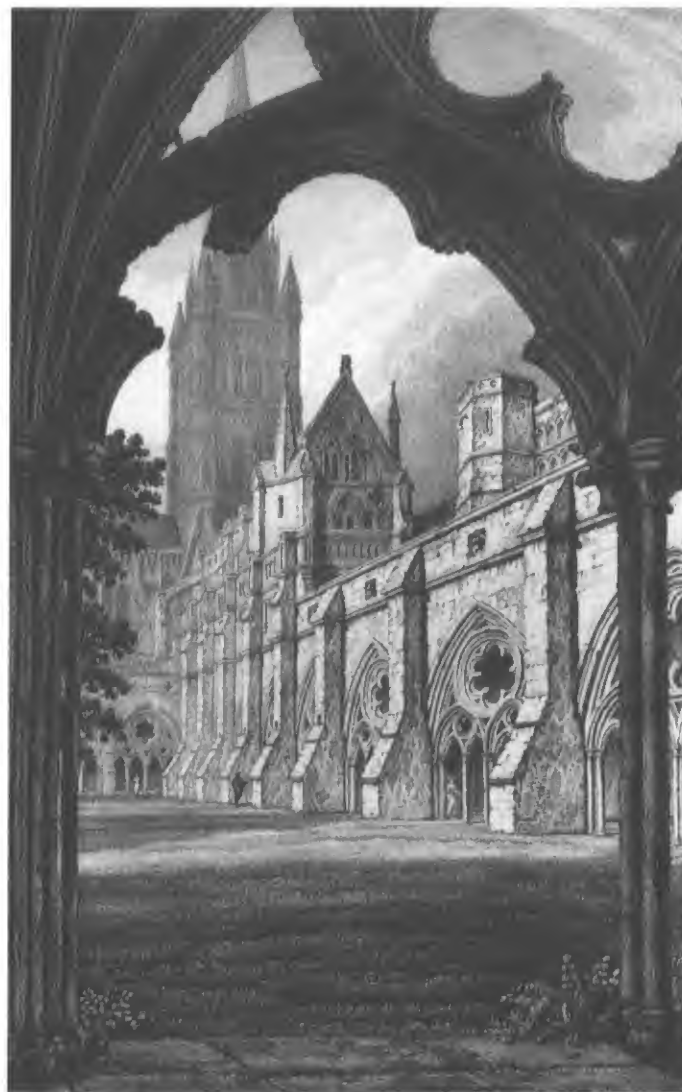
If the Museum's panel came from Salisbury, its original location can only be determined hypothetically, in a process of elimination. Tracery lights that could have contained this type of glass are rare inside the cathedral and are limited to the quatrefoils surmounting the doublet windows above the north and south doors on the west facade, the three quatrefoils at triforium level, and the octafoil at clerestory level in the north and south transept terminals, as well as the four quatrefoils in the same positions in the north and south choir transepts. All these openings, however, surmount lancet windows and, therefore, suggest a concentric design rather than one with the vertical axis of the roundel's foliate composition. The only other glazed traceried at Salisbury were those of the cloister arcade and the chapter house.

Land to enlarge the area initially allotted for the cloister at Salisbury was granted by the bishop in 1263, and construction of the north cloister arcade probably began about 1270.¹⁸ By 1276 work had progressed along the entire

east walk. According to Pamela Blum, the south walk was most likely undertaken in 1276, with construction halted at the seventh bay from the east to begin the chapter house.¹⁹ The Salisbury cloister, though built solely for processional purposes and the comfort of the canons, was one of the largest and most sumptuous in England. Grooves that once held the glazing of the tracery lights in the cloister still exist, which suggests that the stained-glass ornament was planned from the beginning, following the precedent set by Christ Church Cathedral at Canterbury in 1236 and continued with the Cathedral of St. Peter and the Trinity at Gloucester.²⁰ In all likelihood glazing of the cloister tracery kept pace with construction, so that the first bays of the north arcade could have received their glass by the early 1270s. The cloister rosettes alternate between cinquefoils and hexafoils. Considering the size and location of the break in the circle at the point of tangency with the central boss, it seems possible that the Metropolitan's roundel, as well as that at Little Faringdon, may have come from one of the traceries of the north arcade, perhaps among the first to be completed.²¹ This placement would help to explain the transitional character of the style of the roundel (see **Ornament**, below).

Although the cloister at Salisbury essentially escaped destruction during the Reformation and throughout Wyatt's heavy-handed restorations, it was severely damaged during the civil wars of the 1640s. For nearly two centuries the cloister stood in a dilapidated state, as can be seen in the engravings published in 1814 by John Britton, in which the grooves that once held the glass in the tracery lights are clearly discernable (61/figs. 3 and 4).²² Apparently this glass was either destroyed by the time of Britton's publication or removed to be stored, used as stopgaps, or sold.²³ [A late nineteenth-century writer observed that: "The upper portions of the tracery had, not so long ago, traces of coloured glass here and there."²⁴]

Style and date: The tendency toward fleshiness in the palmette fronds at Salisbury reached its most advanced state in the glass of the chapter house, begun in 1280 and probably ready for glazing by the middle of the 1280s. It has been assumed that the cathedral, along with its windows, was completed for the consecration of 1258, but a marginal note on the 1319 Register of Bishop Roger de Mortival, twelfth bishop of Salisbury, states that the building was not completed until 1266.²⁵ By the mid-1270s the east aisle of the cloister was probably complete, since the chapter house, opening off its central bay, was begun, according to Blum, about 1280.²⁶ Given that the production of stained glass destined for the conventual spaces could have been maintained following the completion of the cathedral, a date of 1260–70 for the Museum's roundel would seem stylistically and chronologically acceptable.



61/fig. 3 (above). View toward cloister exterior, Salisbury, Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (from Britton 1814, pl. XXI)

61/fig. 4 (below). View of cloister interior, Salisbury, Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary (from Britton 1814, pl. VIII)

Bibliography: Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Clement Heaton Papers, box 8 (original vol. 17, fol. 1), watercolor of the Museum's panel marked "fr. Metropolitan Mus^m, Salisbury Cathed^d," probably made after 1914; Friedley 1913b, pp. 138–39, ill., publishes the panel as reportedly removed from Salisbury Cathedral during "destructive restoration a century ago"; Drake 1913, pt. 1, p. 34, no. 156, attributes the panel to Salisbury by comparison with the ornamental glass now at the Parish Church at Grateley (Hampshire) but original to Salisbury Cathedral; New York 1971, no. 9; Hayward 1971–72, p. 117, compares the style of the foliage to grisailles at the cathedral; CV Great Britain I, p. 136, pl. 38c, publishes an identical composition at Little Faringdon Parish Church (Oxfordshire), also said, without proof of evidence, to have come from Salisbury; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 97, ill., publishes basic information and bibliography; [Marks 1996, p. 118 n. 15, purports that the Museum's panel "does not resemble any of the glass of certain Salisbury provenance"].

Roundel with Berries and Foliage

Circular panel: Diameter 32 cm (12½ in.)

Francis L. Leland Fund, 1913 (13.64.10)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 61, 61/a, 61/1, 61/figs. 1–5

Description: Ringed by a wide white fillet and thin pearled border, the roundel has a deep red background upon which paired sprays of greenish white foliage symmetrically fill the lateral perimeters of the composition. The two lower sprays rise from a painted green half circle of foliate ornament at bottom center of the roundel. Each spray bifurcates at midpoint (marked by a small foliate spur) into paired leaves, terminating with large berry clusters of deep olive green and golden yellow that hang from the front palmette-shaped leaves, whose tips fold outward; at lower left only, a smaller white berry cluster hangs from the rear leaf. The two upper sprays rise from a painted light yellow ornament wedged between the lower sprays; a similarly shaped piece of green ornament is fastened between the sprouting upper sprays. Each upper spray bifurcates at midpoint (marked by a small foliate spur) to create a pair of double leaves that extends in a V shape toward the roundel's circumference. Small yellow trefoils sprout from the point of bifurcation. Large deep olive green berry clusters hang from each lower leaf, and a large golden yellow berry cluster descends from the facing leaf pairs at top. Within each pair of palmette-shaped leaves throughout the roundel, the lower leaf is accentuated by a single drill hole.

Condition: The nucleus of the panel is in excellent condition, with replacements only in the lower two berry clusters and upper red spandrels. [Contrary to the recent suggestion that the roundel is "made up,"²⁷ examination of the panel's reverse has confirmed Jane Hayward's assessment of its integrity. The verso surface is consistently and evenly patinated, testifying to the roundel's authenticity.] The original green clasp at the base of the foliage (replaced in the Little Faringdon example) shows the tangent arc of the central medallion that together with other roundels may have formed the hexafoil tracery rosette. Only the upper part of the original pearled edge fillet remains on the Museum's roundel. Six segments of the white border are original, as is most of the red background.

Composition: The composition of the central roundel of which this panel was quite possibly a foil is unknown, but we can speculate that it may have contained a concentric design of foliage similar to that in this example and its twin at Little Faringdon. The effect of the complete rosette was probably not unlike those that still contain their original glass at Heiligenkreuz in Austria.²⁸ From the central boss of foliage in the middle of the rosette, the leaf sprays would have extended outward in the foils as tendrils.

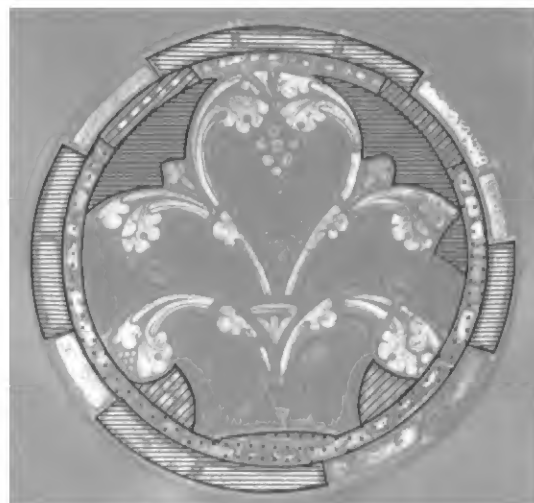


61/fig. 5. Grisaille Panel. Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Chapter House, c. 1280. Glencairn Museum, The Academy of the New Church, Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania



61. Roundel with Berries and Foliage. England, Salisbury, attributed to the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, c. 1260–70

Ornament: The foliage in the Museum's roundel contains distinctive characteristics that relate it to foliage depicted in Salisbury glass. Among these features is the drill hole between the double palmettes comprising the lower leaf in each frond. This drill hole is also a feature of grisaille windows from Salisbury Cathedral (as seen in Winston's watercolor, cited in note 8 below) and evident in a well-preserved panel from the cathedral's chapter house, now in the Glencairn Museum (61/fig. 5).²⁹ The veining on the leaves of the Museum's roundel most closely resembles the multiple strokes of the brush found in the earlier nave



61/a.
Restoration
chart

grisaille foliage as rendered by Winston, who also includes the crosshatched backgrounds of these panels.³⁰ The foliage style of the Museum's roundel, therefore, appears to indicate a middle period in the evolution of form between the foliage against a crosshatched background of the nave grisailles and the fleshy foliage of the chapter-house glass, made after 1280.³¹

One further comparison between the Museum's roundel and Glencairn's Salisbury chapter-house panel accentuates the differences between the two. In the chapter-house glass, a cavity in the palmette bud is indicated by means of a line with a hook at the end. This feature is common to windows of the chapter house but not to the Museum's roundel.³² If we thus consider the adaptation of certain foliage motifs in the Museum's glass, it is possible to chronologically situate the Museum's roundel between the glazing of the cathedral and the chapter house. It would appear that the location of this panel in the tracery rosettes of the cloister dating to about 1270 can be suggested through the stylistic development of foliage patterns at Salisbury.

Color: The most distinctive color in the roundel is the deep red of the background. It is almost a true ruby in hue and is very similar to the reds at Salisbury that persist from the earliest window, the Jesse Tree, to the latest glazing, the figural glass from the chapter house.³³ Like many English examples, the red glass is applied as a flash on the surface of a colorless base that often pits through in pin points, which can be seen when the glass is held to the light, or chips off, as in the piece directly below the central berry cluster. This differs from the corrosion seen in the striated glass of thirteenth-century France.

Technique: The painted trace lines vary in width as they describe forms in a brownish red paint. The same paint is applied as a background for the leaf sprays. Mat is used sparingly; only one tone, for example, is employed in the shadowed area of the stem where the leaf turns. There is some evidence of repainting to strengthen lines, using a reddish paint matching that present in the restored berry clusters.

Photographic reference: Negative I5655.

NOTES

The editors wish to thank the many colleagues who lent their time and expertise in consultation on this entry: Michael Drury Architects, Marianne Grey, Lindsay Koval, Robert J. Vosburgh, and particularly Pamela Z. Blum and Marion E. Roberts. Lord and Lady de Mauley, Canon Judith Mount, Thomas Ponsonby, Madeline Simms, and P. D. Wright were crucial to the verification of information regarding the glass now at Grateley and Little Faringdon.

- Other dispersed panels of ornamental glass from Salisbury (but not directly related to the Metropolitan Museum panel) are found both in Great Britain and the United States: Great Britain, Grateley (Hampshire), St. Leonard's Church; United States, Ohio, Toledo, Toledo Museum of Art (35.38-40); and Pennsylvania, Bryn Athyn, Glencairn Museum (03.SG.218). See Marks 1993, pp. 126-27; CV US, *Checklist* III, p. 218; and CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 136, respectively, for the glass in the United States. [See also Brown 1999, pp. 92 and 94, for additional remnants from Salisbury, including glass in London, Ely, and Winchester.]
- See Drake 1913, pt. 1. This was followed in the fall of the same year by a second exhibition, also at the Charles Gallery; see Drake 1913, pt. 2. Grosvenor Thomas was a member of the "Glasgow Boys," a group of Scottish landscape and history painters. Thomas's paintings were regularly exhibited at shows and in permanent collections from 1890 onward. By the early 1900s Thomas became well known for his collection of stained glass, which he displayed at his home in Kensington, London. The Charles Gallery exhibition was the first large-scale sale of what was then regularly called "ancient" stained glass. For Thomas, see "Grosvenor Thomas" 1924-26, pp. 29-31.
- Drake 1913, pt. 1, p. 34, no. 156. Other dispersed Salisbury glass, now in American collections, was also offered at the two Thomas sales. Mrs. Whitelaw Reid (1858-1931) purchased three grisaille panels now at the Toledo Museum of Art; see *ibid.*, nos. 152-55, CV US, *Checklist* III, p. 218 [and CV US VIII, vol. 2, pp. 231-35]. A grisaille panel from the chapter house was purchased by Raymond Pitcairn (1885-1966), whose collection now constitutes the holdings of the Glencairn Museum; see Drake 1913, pt. 2, pp. 2-3, no. 2, and CV US, *Checklist* II, p. 136.
- [Wyatt's destruction of stained glass at Salisbury has been widely discussed. In addition to contemporaneous outrage, exemplified by the writings of the Right Reverend John Milner (Milner 1789), see also Winston 1865, pp. 106-7. For more recent discussion, see Frew 1979, pp. 366-74; Cobb 1980, pp. 112-13; Blum 1998, p. 149 n. 35; and Brown 1999, pp. 44, 79, and 97. For positive commentary, contemporary with Wyatt, see Dodsworth 1792; Marion Roberts and Catherine Walden are currently reassessing Wyatt's role at Salisbury. See the abstract for their paper "'Improvements' at Salisbury, 1789-1792" in *College Art Association* 2002, p. 376 and Roberts's forthcoming study on Salisbury Cathedral.]
- [See Baker 1932, p. 886.]
- [Carter 1803, p. 643.]
- [Marks 1993, pp. 126-27, and *St Leonard's Church Grateley*, church pamphlet. See also Winston 1865, p. 105 n.1. For Earle's obituary, see "William Benson Earle" 1796, pp. 353-54.]
- The similarity between the foliate patterns at Grately and the Salisbury Jesse Tree was noted by Winston 1865, p. 107 n.1, and later by Marks 1993, p. 127. [For Charles Winston's illustration of the comparable foliate pattern in a Salisbury grisaille panel, see Marks 1996, p. 114, fig. 3(E).]
- Sherwood and Pevsner 1974, p. 685; CV Great Britain I, p. 136 and pl. 38b.
- [*Little Faringdon* 1985, p. 2.]
- [CV Great Britain, *Summary Catalogue* I, p. 131.]
- [Marks 1998, pp. 221-22.]
- Discovered by Mary B. Shepard among the Clement Heaton Papers, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, box 8 (vol. 17, 1-2). The drawing was included with a large group of watercolor and pen and ink sketches under the heading "Salisbury XIIIth - C^x." A Metropolitan Museum photograph of the roundel was also among the Salisbury material. Heaton, a well-known glass painter who arrived in the United States from England in 1914, [consulted on the stained-glass windows for Marquand Chapel (built 1881 - destroyed by fire 1920) at Princeton University. This association with Princeton led to the disposition of his papers with the University.]
- Not all scholars agree that the existing shape of the panel is original. See CV Great Britain I, p. 136, where it is stated that the duplicate panel at Little Faringdon is "now leaded as a circular medallion." The circular shape is accepted in Sherwood and Pevsner 1974, p. 685. The size of the roundel, 32 centimeters (12½ inches) is too large to have been an ornamental motif in a border, as suggested in Hayward 1971-72, p. 117.
- Such concentric ornamental bosses appear at Canterbury in bays NIV, SII, and SVI in the Trinity Chapel and in bay V of the Water Tower; see

CV Great Britain II, figs. 250, 252, 321, 331, 334, 336, and 367. Madeline Caviness has dated these windows to 1213–20. They also serve as tracery lights in the north rose (dated c.1201–1235) at the cathedral of St. Mary at Lincoln; see CV Great Britain, *Occasional Paper* III, p. 47 and pl. 1.

16. See CV Austria II, pt. 1, p. 98 and pls. 271–333.
17. See CV Switzerland I, pp. 79–89 and pls. 43–48, esp. pl. 43a, and Lenzburg 1964, pp. 7–8 and 10–19.
18. Blum 1991, pp. 26–29.
19. For the history of the chapter house, see Blum 1978; [for the history of the chapter-house glazing, see Blum 1998, pp. 142–49, and Brown 1999, pp. 88–94.] See also New York 1982, p. 229.
20. See Spring 1987, p. 139. On cloister glazing in general, see Hayward 1973, pp. 93–95.
21. [In its current state, the roundel and its twin at Little Faringdon are too small for the foils of the surmounting tracery rosettes, according to measurements provided by Michael Drury Architects of Salisbury. However, it is not impossible that these foliate lobes may have lost border elements that would have brought the dimensions in line with the measurements at Salisbury.]
22. Britton 1814, pls. VIII and XXI.
23. Some glass removed from the cathedral by James Wyatt was stored for use or disposal in the roof space over the Trinity Chapel. At the conclusion of Wyatt's controversial remodeling, only three windows in the cathedral contained colored medieval glass; see Spring 1979, pp. 3–5, and [Marks 1996, p. 107]. Records detailing the fate of the cloister glass have not yet come to light. For discussion of the chapter-house glass, see New York 1982, p. 229; [Blum 1998, pp. 142–49; and Brown 1999, pp. 28, 84, 88–94, and 110].
24. [White 1896, pp. 80–81, and Brown 1999, pp. 47 and 144.]
25. Salisbury Cathedral Library, ms. Book of Statutes of Roger de Mortival for 1319. See Blum 1991, p. 22, and [Marks 1996, pp. 106 and 117 n. 2].
26. For the chronology of Salisbury Cathedral, see Blum 1991, pp. 6–38, and Clapham 1947, pp. 144–45. John Britton's comprehensive study (Britton 1814) remains valuable. [For an alternate dating, see Tatton-Brown 1995, pp. 6–10, and Brown 1999, p. 92.]
27. [Marks 1996, p. 118 n. 15.]
28. CV Austria II, pt. 1, p. 98.
29. Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, Glencairn Museum (03.SG.218). At the time of the panel's sale to Raymond Pitcairn, its provenance was given as Snodland Church, Kent (Drake 1913, pt. 2, p. 3, no. 2). [See also Blum 1998, pp. 147 and 149 n. 37.]
30. [See Marks 1996, p. 114, fig. 3(E).]
31. See n. 26 above.
32. Compare the chapter-house panel now in the Glencairn Museum (61/fig. 5) and the pattern published in Martin and Cahier 1841–44, vol. 2, Grisailles E(2). The engraving was copied from drawings by Edward Jones and is in error in showing crosshatched grounds.
33. For color plates, see Spring 1979, cover and figs. 1, 10, and 11.

62. ORNAMENTAL MEDALLION

France, Lorraine, Meuse River region (?)

c.1320

Related material: Canada, Montreal, Musée des Beaux-Arts, foliate medallion (921.Dg.1)¹

History of the glass: The only documented information about this foliate medallion concerns its purchase by the Museum in 1921 from the London-based dealer

Durlacher Brothers, who in this instance worked in conjunction with the dealer Grosvenor Thomas (1856–1923), also of London. Correspondence in the Museum's archives indicates that Durlacher and Thomas made a joint offer to the Metropolitan that consisted of a group of figural, heraldic, and ornamental panels, including two circular medallions identified as French, fourteenth century (Thomas inventory numbers 359 and 362). Of the two, the Museum purchased only number 362.²

Original location, composition, and date: There is a remarkable similarity between the Museum's medallion and a French roundel (62/fig. 1) sold independently by Thomas in 1921 to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Montreal.³ Like the Metropolitan's medallion, the Montreal example was painted with its Thomas inventory number (361) on the inner fillet. Unfortunately, neither number 361 nor number 362 appear in the Thomas Stockbooks – the entries skip from 360 to 363.⁴ Yet the comparable style of ornament, in addition to the fact that both roundels were sold by the same dealer and were numbered sequentially in his inventory, suggests that the Metropolitan and Montreal medallions had a common origin. Their dimensions are roughly identical: the Museum's roundel measures 22.8 centimeters (9 inches), the Montreal example 22.5 centimeters (8 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches). Both are organized around a six-pointed star motif, with foliate wedges in the interstices of the points, and both employ alternating colors: the central boss in the Montreal panel is yellow, as are the wedge-shaped interstices, while the points of the star alternate between white and red glass; the central boss in the Museum's panel is red, as are the wedge-



62/fig. 1. Foliate Medallion. France, Lorraine, Meuse River region (?), c.1320. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Montreal

shaped interstices, while the points of the star alternate between white and amber glass. Ariane Isler-de Jongh has suggested that the outer fillets in the Montreal medallion are composed of assorted pieces of unrelated medieval glass, which may also hold true for the Metropolitan's example.⁵ The lobed foliate wedges in both examples, including their thinly drawn veins, are also close, and in each roundel the stems of the foliage painted in the points of the star split in the center, creating negative lozenge shapes of varying sizes.⁶

Beyond these parallels, however, there are differences between the two medallions. The central boss in the Metropolitan panel is composed of a quatrefoil square painted in reserve,⁷ while the central boss in the Montreal panel is articulated with a hexagram star filled with trilobed foliate patterns painted in reserve. Similarly, variant foliage is depicted within the points of the star: single sprigs bearing three serrated leaves arranged in a pyramidal composition appear in the Metropolitan medallion; diamond-shaped stems with three clover-like leaves similarly arranged as a pyramid can be seen in the Montreal example. Notably, the edge treatment for the wedge-shaped pieces filling the interstices of the star varies between the two. In the Metropolitan's panel the paint does not extend to the edge, thus creating a thin fillet border, whereas the comparable area in the Montreal panel is filled with a ring of pearling painted in reserve. Nevertheless, the syntax of ornament between the two is complementary and should not outweigh the hypothesis that both medallions have a similar origin.

Although general stylistic correspondences can be made with ornamental medallions produced in Rouen during the first quarter of the fourteenth century,⁸ it is more fruitful to look to the Lorraine for the origin of the Metropolitan and Montreal medallions. A close relationship between these two medallions and, in turn, between

a foliate boss (62/fig. 2) now in an ambulatory bay (bay 1) at the church of Notre-Dame-et-Saint-Brice at Avioth (Meuse), was first noted by Isler-de Jongh.⁹ All three medallions feature six-pointed stars with three-leafed sprigs in each of the alternately colored points (the Avioth and Montreal medallions show a particular affinity). The Avioth roundel displays a similar alternation in color: the central boss is red, as are the wedge-shaped interstices, while the points of the star alternate between blue and yellow glass. In addition, the interstices of the star are filled with foliate wedges on which the paint does not extend to the edge of the glass, creating thin, circular borders, also seen on the Museum's roundel. The lack of edge fillets ringing the foliate star pattern at Avioth should not be considered a serious difference, as the fillets of both the New York and Montreal medallions may well not be original to the panels. It should also be remarked, however, that the stems of the Avioth foliate sprigs do not appear to split, as they do in the Montreal and New York medallions. Given the pervasive late nineteenth-century restoration to which Avioth was subjected (c.1895–98) and the medallion's current installation within a largely nineteenth-century setting,¹⁰ together with the lack of measurements for the roundel, it is problematic to make a definitive link between the Avioth boss and the medallions in New York and Montreal. Rather, the existing correspondences point to a common origin in the region of the Meuse River and to a similar date of c.1320.

Bibliography: *BMMA* 1921a, p. 138, announces the Museum's acquisition of the panel; *BMMA* 1921b, pp. 233–34, identifies the medallion as French, fourteenth century, and suggests that it is part of a larger composition; *CV US*, *Checklist I*, p. 107, gives basic information and bibliography (and incorrectly cites "Durlacher Frères, Paris" as the source from which the medallion was purchased).



62/fig. 2. Tracery light. France, Avioth, Church of Notre-Dame-et-Saint-Brice, ambulatory, c.1320

Medallion with Foliate Star

Circular panel: Diameter 22.8 cm (9 in.)

Rogers Fund, 1921, (21.87.2)

Department of Medieval Art

(Exhibited at The Cloisters)

Ill. nos. 62, 62/a, 62/figs. 1 and 2

Description: The medallion consists of a six-pointed foliate star with a center of red glass painted with a four-petaled flower in reserve. The paint stops just short of the edge, creating a thin red border. The points of the star alternate white and amber glass and are painted with sprigs of three serrated leaves. Between the points are red foliate wedges; like the center boss, the paint stops just short of the edge and forms a red border. A fillet of greenish blue



62 (*above*). Foliate Medallion. France, Lorraine, Meuse River region (?), c. 1320

62/a (*right*). Restoration chart

glass surrounds the star, and is itself enclosed by a thin edge fillet of white glass.

Condition: The glass is heavily pitted and corroded on the exterior. On the inside face the unpainted surface has a heavy coating of corrosion that has already begun to form pits. There is, however, little evidence of paint loss. It appears that two restorations took place before the Museum's acquisition of the medallion. One, probably made by the previous owner, added the edge fillet and missing pieces of the blue border, if not the entire fillet. An older restoration replaced pieces of the painted design. The number "362" is painted on the blue inner fillet.



Ornament and technique: As in the case of many other examples of French decorative glass from the second half of the thirteenth century onward, this medallion is designed in a combination of conventionalized and “naturalized” ornament. In the center of the piece is a circle on which a four-petaled flower has been scratched out in reserve, with fine lines of trace added to suggest the median veins of the petals. In each quadrant of the background is a tiny stick-lighted dot. This is a generalized design with no specific relationship to nature, contrasting with the leafy twigs that surround it. In these projecting sprigs, the knotty, twisted stems and lateral veins are those common to the exogen form of plant.¹¹ This minute observation of nature is even more specific for the tridents of leaves, which are those of the wood anemone,¹² which opens into three trilobed, notched leaves. Next to these leaves, in the interstitial wedges, is a fan-shaped foliate form that, again, is conventionalized. The artist first outlined the plant form, including details of the stem and leaf veins, then filled in the background with solid trace of a fairly dry consistency, so that there is considerable streaking of the paint.

Photographic reference: The medallion was photographed in 1921, negative 48049, when it entered the Museum’s collection.

NOTES

While information regarding the Montreal medallion and the foliate ornament in the Church of Notre-Dame-et-Saint-Brice at Avioth was found in her files, Jane Hayward died before she could fully rework the entry to incorporate this new information. Mary B. Shepard integrated this material, which informed the discussion of the *History of the glass*.

1. [The relationship between the Museum’s medallion and its companion in Montreal was first noted by Ariane Isler-de Jongh of the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.]
2. [The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Archives. The roundel, Thomas inventory number 359, was sold to Edsel Ford on 18 June 1928 and is now in the Edsel and Eleanor Ford House, Grosse Pointe Shores, Michigan. See Thomas Stockbooks, vol. 1, p. 34.]
3. Information regarding the Montreal medallion has been generously shared by Isler-de Jongh as well as Robert Little of the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal.
4. The Thomas Stockbooks primarily reflect sales by Grosvenor Thomas’s son, Roy, who took over the business following his father’s death in 1923.
5. [The medallion’s current installation in the Early Gothic gallery at The Cloisters did not allow it to be removed for examination. Inspection from the front suggests that the white and blue fillets could be composed of different pieces of old glass and are not indigenous to the piece. Hayward similarly charted the panel (62/a) in situ.]
6. [This stem pattern in the Museum’s example is less apparent in the photograph, but is extremely clear upon direct examination. It varies from the Montreal medallion in that the negative space is slightly filled or is sometimes askew in its symmetry.]
7. [A similar central boss is part of a composite roundel now at the Edsel and Eleanor Ford House in Grosse Pointe Shores, Michigan. It was also sold from Grosvenor Thomas’s stock, but by his son Roy, following Grosvenor’s death. Its sale in June of 1928 is recorded as number 360 in the Thomas Stockbooks, vol. 1, p. 34, and was sold together with number 359; see n. 2 above.]
8. There is a similar vocabulary of “naturalized” foliage employed in the ornament, as seen in the Chapel of St. Bartholomew in the former Abbey Church of Saint-Ouen, where the *fermaillets* incorporate stars both with twigs bearing three trefoliate leaves and with interstitial fan-shaped wedges painted with leaves. See CV France IV-2/1, pp. 100–3 and pl. 21.
9. [For the ornamental boss at Avioth, see Lillich 1991, p. 98 and pl. V.4, and CV France, *Recensement* V, fig. 61. The editors are grateful for the assistance of Michel Hérold and Meredith Lillich in providing critical information and advice about the ornament at Avioth along with crucial photographic documentation. Correspondence with Hérold and Lillich, The Cloisters, departmental files.]
10. [For summaries of the successive destruction and the intrusive “restoration” campaigns concerning the Avioth glazing, see Lillich 1991, p. 97, and CV France, *Recensement* V, p. 79.]
11. See Hatton 1960, pp. 31–40, for plant forms and characteristics.
12. *Ibid.*, fig. 4.

63. HERALDIC SHIELD

England, Essex or Oxfordshire (?)

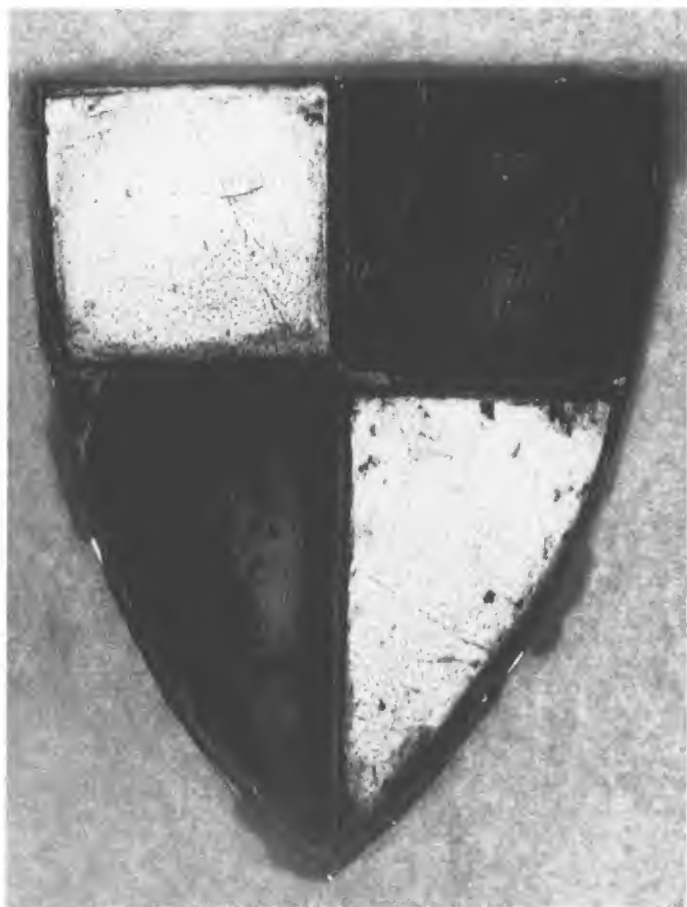
1300–1320

Related material: Great Britain (Oxfordshire), Dorchester, Abbey Church of Saints Peter and Paul, choir, Arms of Hugh de Vere; Arms of de Mandeville, de-accessioned from The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1981, present whereabouts unknown.

History of the glass: Although a great deal is known about the individual whose arms are depicted on this stained-glass shield, nothing is known about the glass itself other than its purchase by the Museum in 1912 from the Fine Arts Society in London. It was said at that time to be English and to represent the arms of Sir Hugh de Vere (c.1264–1319).

Original location: Hugh de Vere (second son of Robert de Vere, fifth Earl of Oxford, and Alice, daughter and co-heir of Guilbert de Sanford) was born about 1264.¹ Through collateral descent from the de Mandeville family,² he succeeded to the Manor of Swanscombe in Essex. As a knight he fought against Philip IV of France in 1293 and was sent by King Edward I (1239–1307) on diplomatic missions to France in 1297 and to Rome in 1298. Upon his return he was summoned to Parliament as a baron in 1299. At the siege of Carlaverock in 1300 he used the de Vere arms, and he sealed the Barons’ letter supporting Edward’s claim on Scotland that was sent to the Pope in 1301.³ He married Dyonisia (Denise), daughter and heiress of Sir William de Monchensi (Monchensy), who, through his mother Joan, was co-heir to Anselm Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. Dyonisia predeceased her husband “shortly before 13 Apr. 1314.”⁴ Hugh de Vere died in 1319.

There is no way of knowing the original location of the Museum’s panel. The de Vere family was very influential



63/fig. 1. Shield with the de Mandeville Arms. England, early fourteenth century (current location unknown)

and held numerous properties in Oxfordshire, Essex, and Suffolk. Although the first de Vere, Aubrey, was listed in the Domesday Book as owning lands in Essex, the family burial place was at Colne Priory in Essex.⁵ Unfortunately, the priory was demolished, and in 1935 the surviving family tombs were moved to St. Stephen's Chapel near Bures in Suffolk.⁶ Nikolaus Pevsner noted a few fragments of stained glass there that he considered might have come from Colne Priory, but whether this glass once included the family's arms is impossible to say.

One clue in the search for the locality of the arms comes from a second armorial shield (63/fig. 1) that the Museum previously owned, which was purchased in 1912 together with the de Vere shield. This additional set of arms, sold by the Museum in 1981, was incorrectly described as *Quarterly Or and Sable* (for Hoo), when in fact the tinctures were *Quarterly Or and Gules* (de Mandeville).⁷ Geoffrey de Mandeville (d. 1144), Earl of Essex, was one of the most powerful magnates of the twelfth century. He owned lands across the south of England but principally in Essex, Suffolk, Kent, and Oxfordshire. The de Vere family claimed collateral descent from his family.⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that as in the case of the arms of Hugh de Vere in the abbey church of Saints Peter and Paul at Dorchester (see

Style and date below), these two shields are the sole remains of a similar local series, now unknown, established where both families had influence.

Style and date: In its outline, size, and inclusion of a black engrailed border as a difference for cadency, this shield corresponds with one bearing the arms of Sir Hugh de Vere that most likely was originally located in the east window of the Abbey Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Dorchester.⁹ Edmund Greening Lamborn has noted the similarity between the lost and surviving shields at Dorchester and the arms of the seals on the Barons' letter of 1301 and those on the Poem of Carlawerock of 1300.¹⁰ Indeed, these dates roughly coincide with the addition of side chapels to the choir at Dorchester. Pevsner suggested that this reorganization of the choir probably stemmed from Papal indulgences offered in 1293 and that the rebuilding continued into the fourteenth century.¹¹

Given the shape of the Museum's de Vere shield, there is little reason to believe that this piece would date much later than the death of Hugh de Vere in 1319. Therefore, an assignment of c. 1300–1320 would seem reasonable.

Bibliography: *BMMA* 1912, p. 200, cites the Museum's purchase of the shield among other heraldic panels; Friedley 1912, pp. 212–13, mentions the shield among other stained-glass acquisitions; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 108, provides basic information (the photograph is reversed).

Shield with Arms of Hugh de Vere

Three-cornered shield: 28.5 × 23.7 cm (11¼ × 9⅜ in.)

Rogers Fund 1912, (12.137.2)

Department of Medieval Art

Ill. nos. 63, 63/a, 63/fig. 1

Description (Blazon): *Quarterly Gules and Or a Mullet Argent in the first quarter all within a Border indented Sable for difference* (Sir Hugh de Vere).¹²

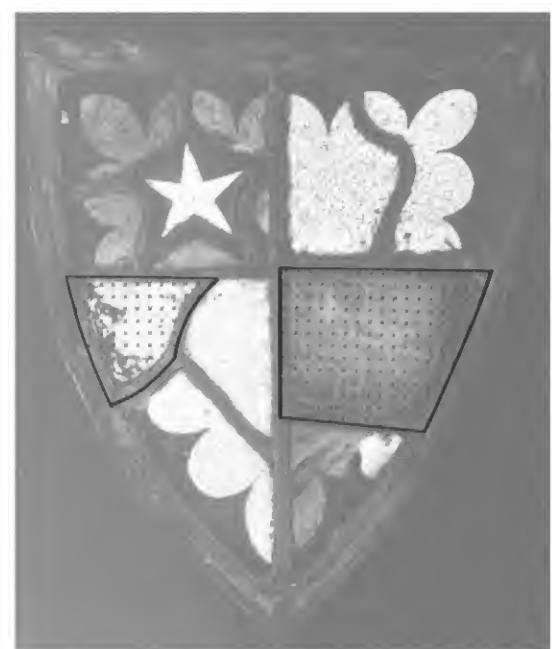
Condition: The yellow glass is heavily corroded on the back, with an even coating of fine pits. The red glass is slightly less pitted, and the white is least pitted of all. There is no backpainting. The red glass is flashed, and there is a large chip in the lower piece of the fourth quarter. The upper half of this quarter is an early replacement with old glass.

Color: The yellow glass in the shield is a golden color, and the red is very dark due to the corrosion. The white of the charge has a greenish cast.

Photographic reference: When the shield of the de Vere arms entered the Museum in 1912, both it and the shield of the de Mandeville family that came with it were



63. Shield with the Arms of Hugh de Vere. England, Essex or Oxfordshire (?), 1300–1320



63/a. Restoration chart

photographed as a single image, negative 14042 (regrettably, the de Vere shield was photographed backwards). A new photograph (negative 256389), showing the de Vere arms correctly, was made after the de Mandeville piece had been sold.

NOTES

1. On Hugh de Vere and the family, see Foster 1902, p. 198; Greening Lamborn 1949, p. 123; and Cokayne 1982, vol. 6, pt. XII/2, pp. 253–56.
2. See White 1937, pp. 469–72, and Wagner 1939, no. 3.
3. See London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A.XVIII, fols. 23v–30v, published in Brault 1973, pp. 11–12 and 101–25. See also Foster 1902, pp. xxi–xxii, xxiv–xxv, and 198, and [Anderson 1993, pp. 49–51.]
4. See Cokayne 1982, vol. 6, pt. XII/2, pp. 255–56; see also vol. 4, pt. IX, p. 424.
5. *Domesday Book* 1975–92, vol. 32, pp. 76a,b–78 a; Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, p. 164; and [Anderson 1993, pp. 1–15.]
6. Pevsner and Radcliffe 1965, p. 164. For St. Stephen's Chapel, see Pevsner and Radcliffe 1974, p. 125, and [Anderson 1993, pp. 12 and 17].
7. Hoo is correctly *Quarterly Argent and Sable*. For the de-accessioned coat of arms (formerly 12.137.1), see Sotheby Parke-Bernet Sale 1981, lot 84, where the tinctures are correctly described but the arms are not identified.
8. See Wagner 1939, no. 3 and pl. II, and White 1937, pp. 469–72.
9. See CV Great Britain I, p. 86; Greening Lamborn 1949, pp. 120–23 and pl. 47; and Sherwood and Pevsner 1974, p. 582. The rowel in the de Vere arms at Dorchester is modern, according to Peter Newton in CV Great Britain I. The Dorchester shields were first recorded in the east window in 1574. See Greening Lamborn 1949, pp. 120–21, and Turner 1871, pp. 106–10.
10. Greening Lamborn 1949, pp. 120–21; twenty-six shields survive of the more than fifty shields originally at Dorchester in 1574. They were recorded in Turner 1871, pp. 106–10.
11. Sherwood and Pevsner 1974, pp. 578 and 582.
12. See Greening Lamborn 1949, p. 123; Cokayne 1982, vol. 6, pt. XII/2, p. 256; and [Anderson 1993, p. 13].

64 & 65. PAIR OF GRISAILLE PANELS

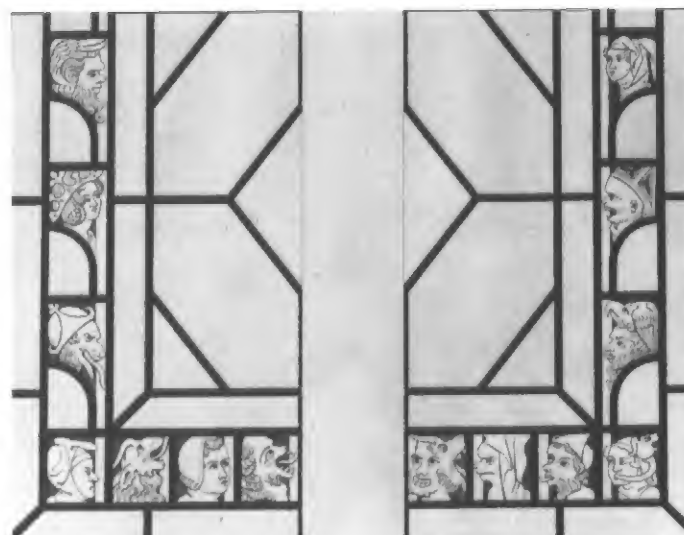
France (Seine-Saint-Denis), Saint-Denis, Church of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis
1320–24

Related material: France, Champs-sur-Marne, Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, panel with border of grotesques from Saint-Denis (MH304 762); Paris, Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, grisaille panels with grotesque (cl. 11473); Great Britain, London, Victoria and Albert Museum, two grisaille panels with heads (940–1900 and 95.1930).

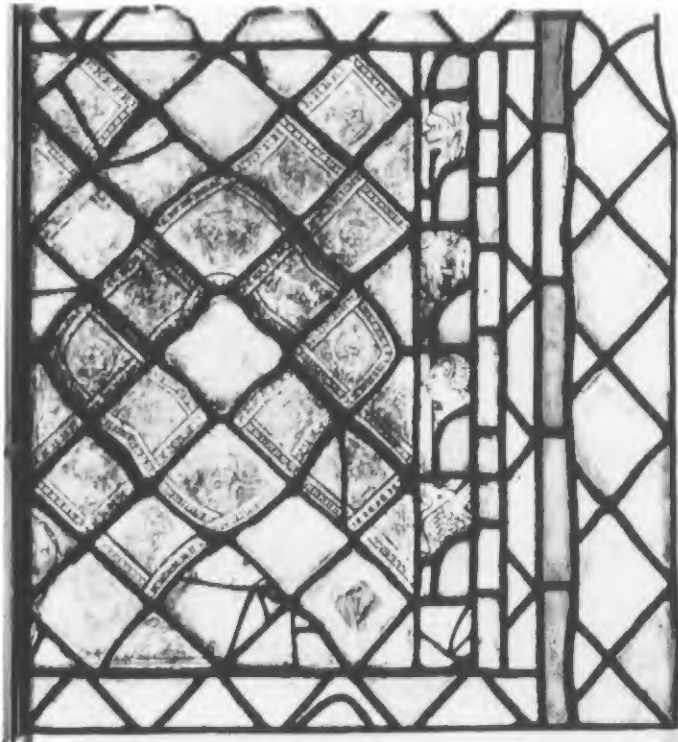
History of the glass and original location: Traditionally this glass has been attributed to the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris.¹ The Notre-Dame attribution rests on slender evidence that is almost entirely documentary in nature because, with the exception of the three roses and two isolated panels, none of the cathedral's medieval glass has survived. In 1841 Émile Leconte published an album of plates on Notre-Dame at Paris that included an illustration of a stained-glass border surrounding a panel of colorless leaded glass from a chapel on the north side of the church (64/fig. 1).² Jean Lafond, writing in 1959, recognized this border as being akin to one on a fragmentary panel of grisaille with fleurs-de-lys then at Saint-Denis and now at the Dépôt des Monuments Historiques at Champs-sur-Marne (see **Related material** and 64/fig. 2).³ In his 1966 article on Notre-Dame's glass, Henry Kraus repeated Lafond's observation, based again on the similarity of the border to that published by Leconte.⁴ Earlier, Lafond had also recognized two grisailles now at the Victorian and Albert Museum, London (see **Related material**), as part of the series.⁵ Following this reasoning, all of these panels, including the two presently at The Cloisters,

have been attributed to the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris.⁶ As even Lafond later admitted, however, the evidence on which this attribution rests is valid solely for the grotesque border and not for the grisailles, which are notably absent in the Leconte plate.⁷

What has seemed the ideal location at Notre-Dame for this glass is the chapel on the north side of the choir, the third from the axis, that was dedicated to St. Eutrope and was a donation of Philippe-le-Bel (r. 1285–1314).⁸ In the eighteenth century Pierre Le Vieil had reported that he saw in the window there “le Roi Philippe-le-Bel à genoux, lé derrière lui l'écusson de France semé de fleurs-de-lys sans nombre, . . . & à gauche, Jeanne de Navarre qu'il épousa en 1284, derrière laquelle est l'écusson de Navarre de la même étendue.”⁹ Le Vieil might seem to have described a band window that would provide the



64/fig. 1. Borders with grotesques. France, Paris, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, early fourteenth century (from Leconte 1841–43, pl. 61)



64/fig. 2. Grisaille Panel with Border of Grotesques. Dépôt des Monuments Historiques, Champs-sur-Marne, 1320–24

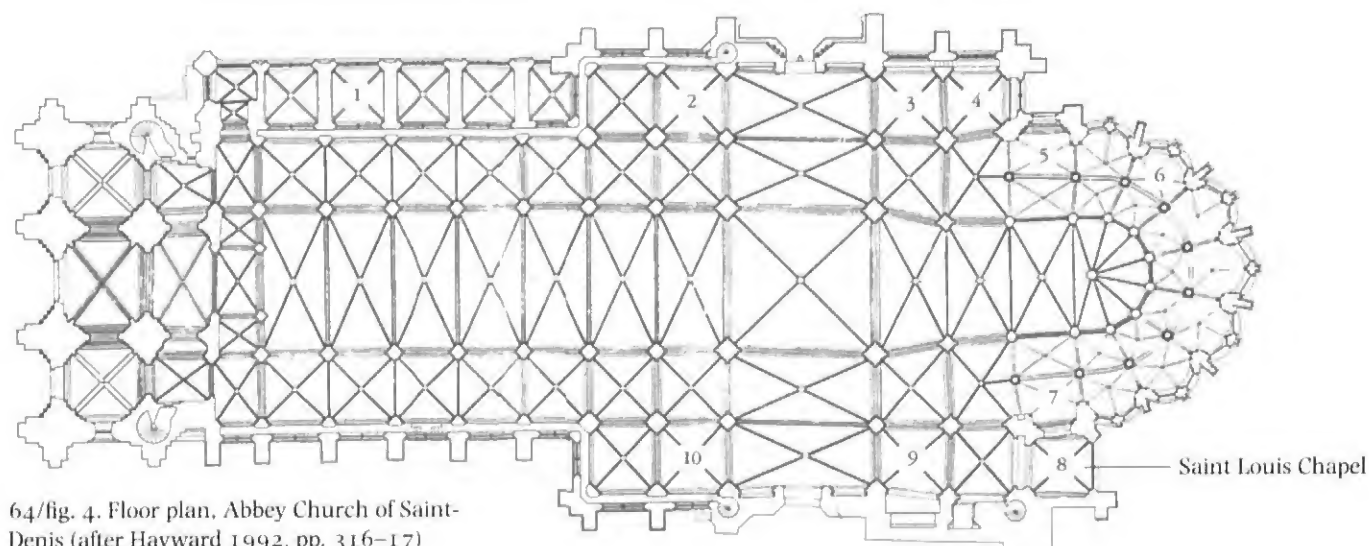
perfect place for the fleurs-de-lys grisailles at Notre-Dame were it not for additional information published by Baron François de Guilhermy (1808–1878) in 1855. He reported seeing remains of the old glass in this chapel and the two that flanked it, which he described as fragments of grisailles and of borders strewn with eaglets and foliage.¹⁰ This description does not conform to the pieces drawn by Leconte; it would be difficult to distinguish any foliage in his border, much less any eaglets. Furthermore, an insurmountable discrepancy is presented by the dimensions of the lancets of the choir chapel windows at Notre-Dame, each about 116.8 centimeters (46 inches) wide. The grisaille panels are all only about 38.1 centimeters (15 inches) wide – too narrow, including two strips of the 7.6-centimeter-(3-inch-) wide grotesque border, to have been accommodated in that cathedral's windows even if the panels had been doubled.¹¹

The distinctive feature of these grisaille panels is the small fleur-de-lys sprouting from the stem of the foliage in every one of the original quarries. So far as is known, this royal symbol is unique to six panels, including the two at The Cloisters, the aforementioned two panels at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and one at the Dépôt des Monuments Historiques at Champs-sur-Marne, as well as one in the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris (see **Related material** and 64/fig. 3). It does not appear in any other grisailles of this period, nor is it known earlier.¹² The fleur-de-lys suggests a special significance for this glass – perhaps a royal donation or a dedication to a royal patron.

Rather than originating at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Paris, it therefore seems more likely that these panels were created for a royal foundation. Circumstantial evidence points to the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (64/fig. 4), specifically to the nave chapel dedicated to Saint Louis (Louis IX, r. 1226–1270), located off the second western bay of the nave between the northern buttresses and likely finished before 1324.¹³ Saint-Denis served the laity as well as the monks, in addition to functioning as the royal necropolis. In fact, a probable reason for a nave chapel to be dedicated to Saint Louis in the first place was his popularity as a saint among the people following his canonization in 1297. The lay congregation could hardly ascend into the ambulatory of the choir, reserved for the monks, to do him honor in his chapel there.¹⁴ The thirteenth-century rebuilding of the royal abbey was begun just five years after Louis became king and continued throughout his lifetime, being virtually complete by his death in 1270, although it was not consecrated until 1281. That Louis was closely associated with Saint-Denis can be discerned by the carved fleurs-de-lys that are still visible on the south transept portal and that once abounded in the church's decoration.¹⁵ These emblems could only have been a reference to King Louis



64/fig. 3. Grisaille Panel. Abbey Church of Saint-Denis, 1320–24. Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris



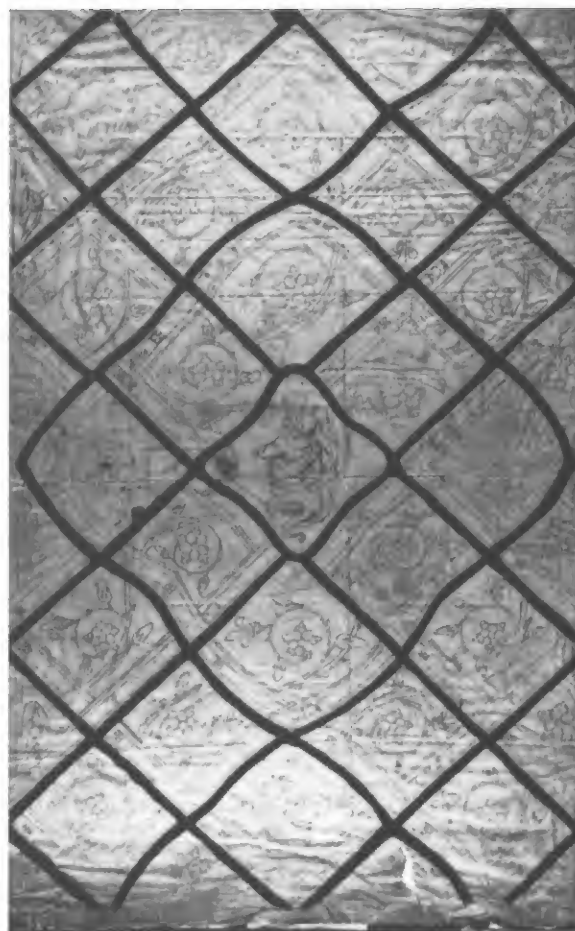
64/fig. 4. Floor plan, Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (after Hayward 1992, pp. 316–17)

during his lifetime or to his royal Capetian line, and it can be assumed that the fleurs-de-lys on the glass in the fourteenth-century chapel were a continuation of this practice, honoring its patron.

The nave chapel dedicated to Saint Louis features characteristic windows of the period composed of four cusped lancets separated by thin mullions, with a pyramid of three traceried roses above, capped by a pierced gable. Each of these lancets is 86.4 centimeters (34 inches) wide by about 4 meters 83 centimeters (16 feet 2 inches) high.¹⁶ The Cloisters grisaille panels are each 38.1 centimeters (15 inches) wide by 59.7 centimeters (23½ inches) long. These measurements would allow for eight panels in the vertical position with a slightly longer piece extending into the trefoil at the top.¹⁷ Two of these panels, side by side, with two 2.5-centimeter (1-inch) fillets on each outer edge, would exactly fit the width of the lancet.¹⁸

The devastating history of vandalism at Saint-Denis during the French Revolution is well documented.¹⁹ It is plausible that the director of the Musée des monumens français, Alexandre Lenoir (1761–1839), removed these panels from their original setting at the same time that he claimed other medieval stained glass from Saint-Denis, kept them in storage at the museum, and returned them to Saint-Denis when the museum closed in 1816.²⁰ Further evidence for a Saint-Denis provenance for the Cloisters panels can be found among a number of tracings executed c.1848 by the architect Juste Lisch (1828–1910). His tracing of the panel from this group now at Cluny (64/fig. 5) was undoubtedly executed with additional drawings and tracings made of Saint-Denis glass and architecture.²¹ Like the other panels in the series, the tracing itself measures 59.7 centimeters (23½ inches) high; unlike them, however, it has a broad 2.5-centimeter (1-inch) edge fillet on its left side but not on the right. Lisch thus supplies greater support to the idea that these panels were originally paired in the lancets and that each

pair was finished with a simple edge fillet rather than an elaborate border.²² The Lisch tracing also shows parts of a second, narrower outer fillet on its left side at the very edge of the paper. This is the “break” fillet. Although a minor point, the presence of this outer fillet is further indication that the piece was newly leaded and in the process of restoration. More important is the fact that these two



64/fig. 5. JUSTE LISCH, Tracing and drawing of 64/fig. 3. Collection Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Paris

fillets on the outer edges of a pair of grisaille windows would exactly fit the lancet width of the Saint-Louis nave chapel at Saint-Denis. This arrangement, moreover, could not have fit in the earlier choir chapel dedicated to Saint Louis, where each lancet is 8.9 centimeters ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches) wider (total width 95.2 centimeters [$37\frac{1}{2}$ inches]) – too wide for edge fillets yet not wide enough for two strips of the 7.6-centimeter (3-inch) border of grotesques.

During the successive “restoration” campaigns at Saint-Denis,²³ these panels most likely went unrecognized as being part of the church’s medieval glazing. They probably came into the hands of one or more of the glaziers working at Saint-Denis. Nothing more is known about the Cloisters

glass until its sale at auction from the collection of the Parisian glazier Michel Acézat (1878–1944) in 1969.²⁴ Bought by Michel Meyer, a Parisian dealer, the panels were later sold to Zurich dealer Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler, from whom the Museum purchased them in 1982. In 1990 the Museum acquired a composite panel (1990.212; 64/2) containing four grisaille quarries (three medieval, one nineteenth century) with the fleurs-de-lys decoration distinctive to this series. Three of these quarries, in turn, were used to replace modern restorations in the two Cloisters panels (Nos. 64 and 65).²⁵ At that time the borders with grotesques were removed (see 64/1 and 65/1), and the panels were installed in the Nine Heroes Tapestry Hall.



64/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration

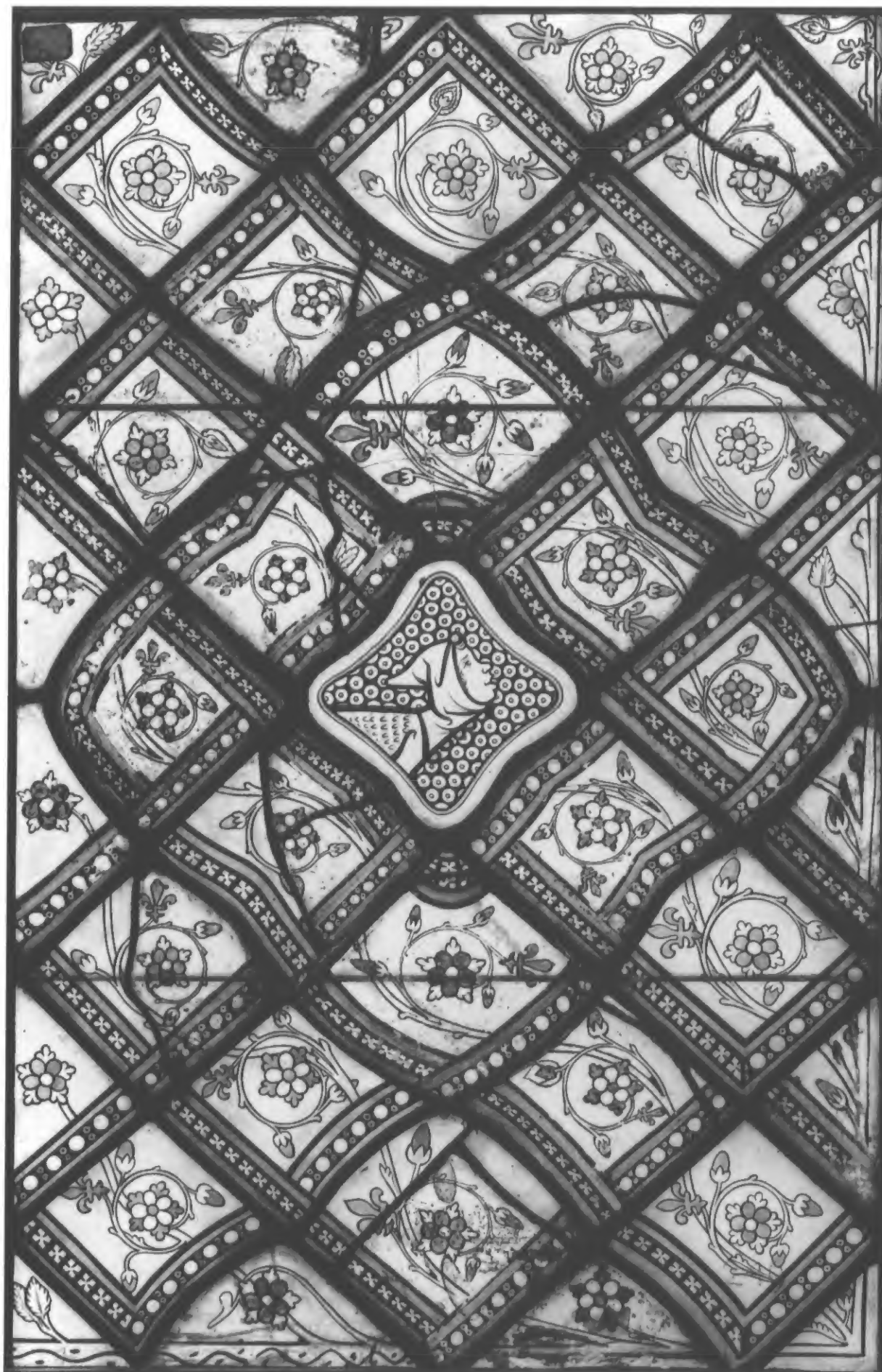
64/2. Composite Panel with Fleur-de-lys
Foliage Designs. France, Abbey Church
of Saint-Denis, 1320–24 (formerly
MMA 1990.212; individual
quarries are now integrated
within Nos. 64 and 65)



Style and date: As stated earlier, the distinctive feature of the group of grisailles to which the Cloisters panels belong is the small fleurs-de-lys sprouting from the stem of the foliage in each of the original quarries. In most grisailles of this period each quarry contains a bud of the flower as well as leaflets, as can also be seen in the quarries from other sources that have been used to repair the many losses in the group in question; although in some cases the bud has been debased into a spiky burr, in no case is it a recognizable fleur-de-lys.²⁶ In all panels of the series under discussion, the quarry pattern is composed of bulged and straight strapwork. The main stem runs up one edge and across the bottom of the panel, and each quarry continues the flow of the foliage in an upward diagonal direction. Lateral stems found here are not unknown in grisaille design, but they are rare.²⁷ A grotesque or a genre figure occupies the central lozenge in each panel.²⁸ The unusual inclusion of two different patterns of silver-stain ornament decorating the straps that

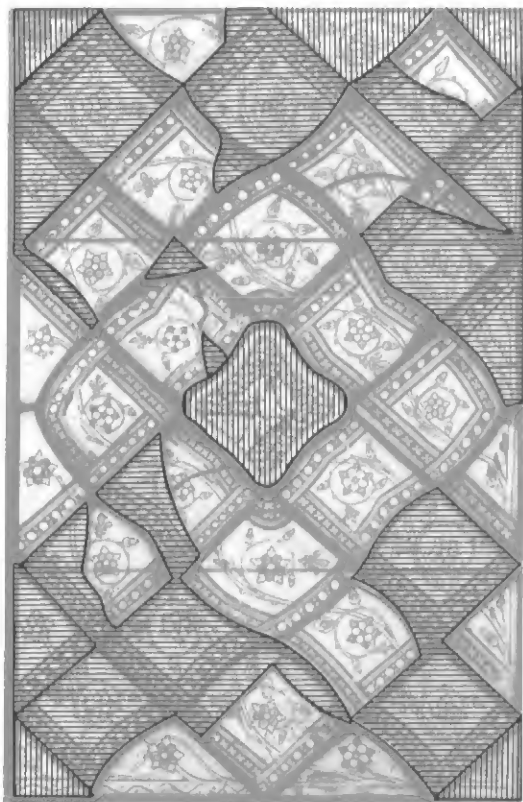
weave over and under each other in a basketwork design suggests an experimental phase and a date early in the fourteenth-century, consistent with the date of the chapel.

It appears that the Cloisters panels were created as a pair. At the level of the central grotesque on the edge opposite the rising stem, the straps straighten to form a half canted square. When combined as a "mirror image," which the Cloisters panels are, two panels form a central lozenge within which the undulating branches terminate in a rose. Silver stain is applied on selected areas of the design: the richly ornamented straps on the barbs, centers, petals, and buds of the wild roses and on the fleurs-de-lys. The roses alternate stained with white barbs and white with stained barbs; the fleurs-de-lys are always silver stained. The remainder of the pattern is executed in a fine, brilliantly controlled trace line with the background of the ornamental strapwork scratched out with the stylus. Two different patterns of strapwork are interlaced in an arrangement based on the direction of the diagonal on which the straps



64. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Abbey Church
of Saint-Denis,
1320-24

64/a.
Restoration
chart



run. The dexter set are ornamented with a band of quatrefoils on the silver-stained strap. The sinister straps contain a band of large pearls scratched out in white between two pierced beads on a stained strap. The original glass in these two pieces is a pearly colorless glass with striations, indicating that it was muffed. With the exception of the silver stain, which was generally applied to the back surface of glass, there is no evidence of backpainting.

Aside from examples in Lafond's pioneering work on Norman glass, there are few dated grisaille-glass programs in France to use for comparison; the best is the choir of the Abbey Church of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, begun in 1318 and finished before 1339 and whose glass is traditionally dated 1325–35.²⁹ In contrast to the series under discussion, which consistently employs the wild-rose pattern common to most grisailles of the period, the grisailles at Saint-Ouen show foliage that has been differentiated into recognizable botanical species, suggesting a more advanced stage in development of ornament.³⁰ Another indicator in the Saint-Denis group of a date earlier than that for Saint-Ouen is the combination of bulged and straight strapwork, which later tends to be eschewed in favor of rectangular quarries.³¹ Because of the silver stain employed, however, the date for the Cloisters glass and its fellows could hardly be earlier than about 1315.³²

Bibliography: Acézat Sale 1969, lot 39, pl. IV, states that panels of analogous type are in the collections of the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny and the

Victoria and Albert Museum, London; *MMA Annual Report* 1983, p. 41, records purchase of the two panels by the Museum; CV US, *Checklist I*, p. 106, gives basic information and bibliography; Schrader 1986, p. 53, ill., notes the whale among the border grotesques; Hayward 1992, pp. 303–25, reattributes the panels to the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis; [Paris 1998, p. 398, cites the Cloisters panels in relationship to a panel now at the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris; New York 1999, pp. 137–38, discusses their history and current condition].

64. Grisaille Panel with Fleurs-de-lys

Rectangular panel: 59.1 × 45.7 cm (23¼ × 18 in.)

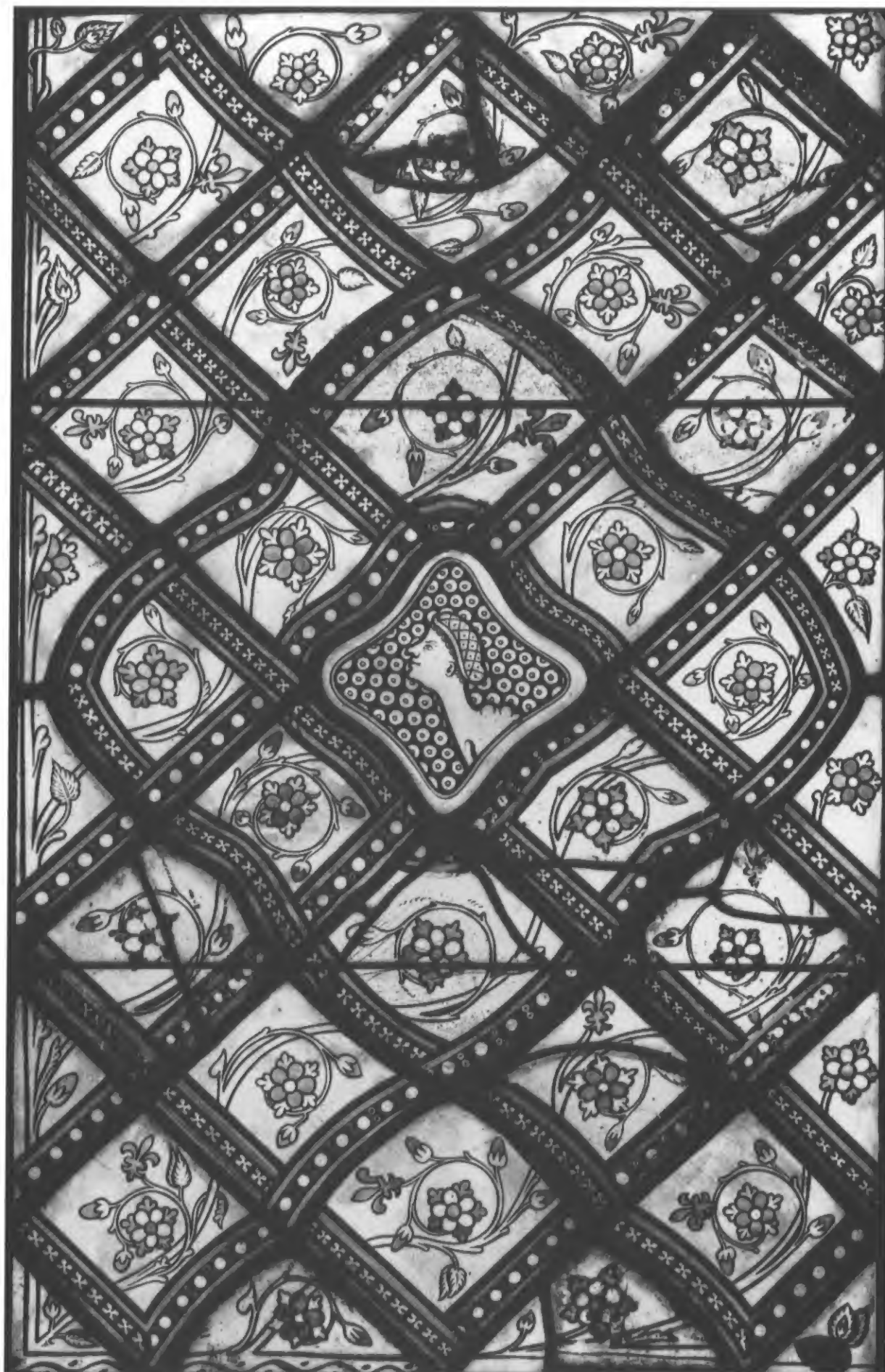
The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.433.3)

Ill. nos. 64, 64/a, 64/1 and 2, 64/figs. 1–5

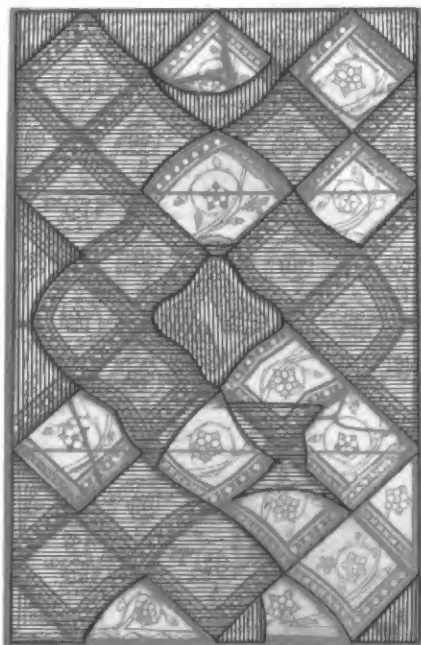
Description: The panel is composed of quarries bulged about the center and the upper and lower edges. It is painted in grisaille and silver stain in a pattern of foliage, heraldic fleurs-de-lys, and rose blossoms. The main stem rises along the right edge of the panel, and an equally broad branch travels horizontally along the lower edge. From these stems undulating branches grow upward along a diagonal line of quarries. Two courses on the lower-left side spring from the horizontal stem, while all the others emerge from the vertical stem.³³ The strapwork of the panel is decorated with two different stick-light patterns; the first, a row of pearls separated by two tiny rings, one above the other, the second, a quatrefoil resembling a cross patée. The straps themselves lace over and under in a basketweave design. The head of a man with a hood in the central lozenge is modern.

Condition: The condition of this panel and its companion, No. 65, on their acquisition by the Museum included a considerable amount of modern glass, including a border (now removed), with, from bottom to top, a spitting man, a dolphin-like creature, a snail-like creature who plays his shawm-shaped nose, an eagle, and a dragon biting its tail (64/1). In all likelihood Michel Acézat restored the panels while they were in his collection, drawing on the grotesque border from the panel now at Champs-sur-Marne, the Lisch tracing of the panel now at Cluny, and the plate of that panel published by Westlake.³⁴ The panel bears an old label numbered "F27."

Photographic reference: Negatives 229424 (pre-restoration, with border, taken in 1982) and 251650 (post-restoration, taken in 1991).



65. Grisaille
Panel. France,
Abbey Church
of Saint-Denis,
1320-24.



65/a. Restoration
chart

65. Grisaille Panel with Fleurs-de-lys

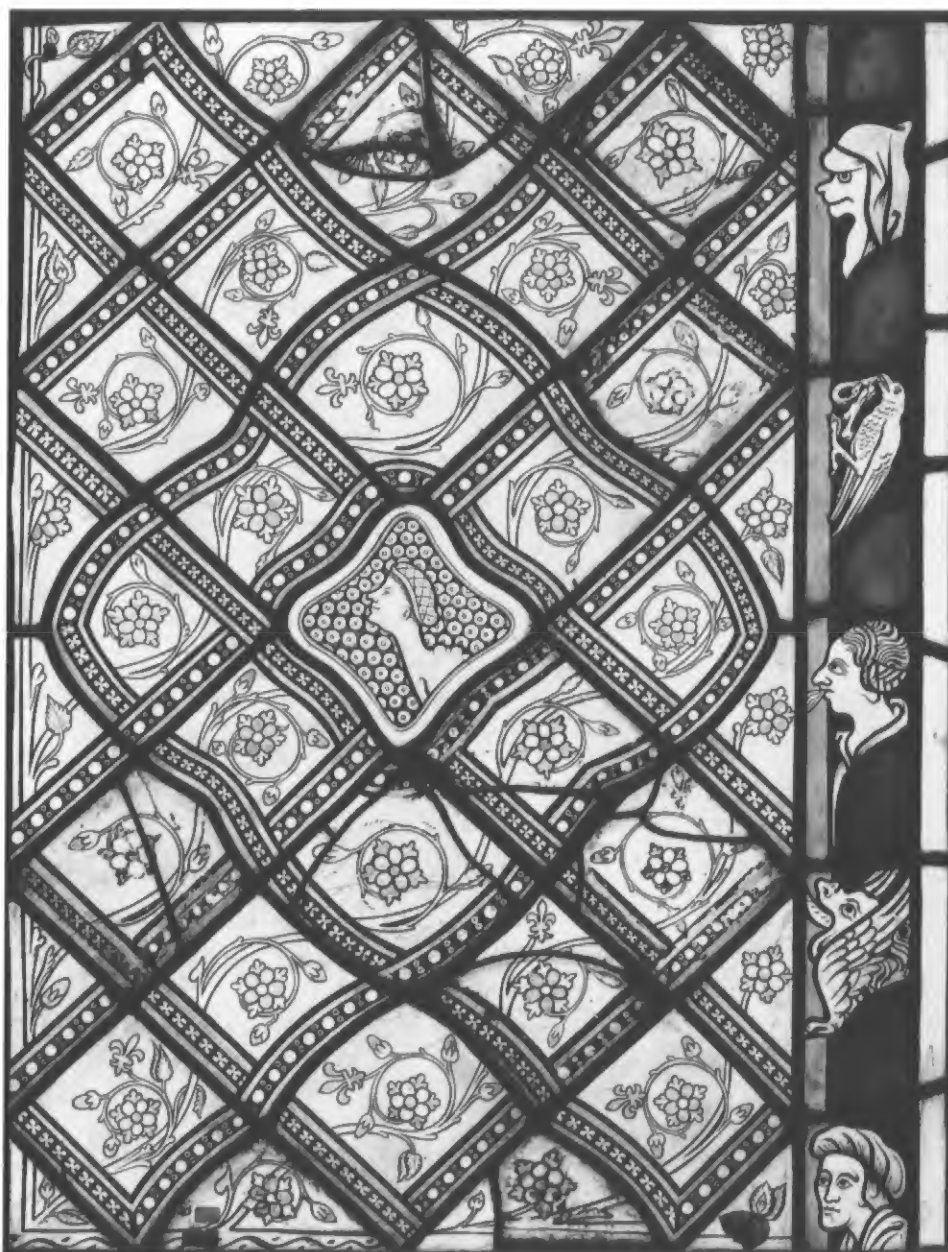
Rectangular panel: 59.7 × 45.7 cm (23½ × 18 in.)

The Cloisters Collection, 1982 (1982.433.4)

Ill. nos. 65, 65/a, 65/1

Description: This panel is composed as the mirror image of No. 65, hence the main stem rises on the left side of the panel. The head of a woman with a snood in the central lozenge is modern.

Condition: See No. 64. All of the grotesques in this panel also are modern (65/1). The border images (now removed), from bottom to top, include a man with a turban, a winged lion, a spitting man, a bird eating a worm, and a dog wearing a hood; some of these images, such as the dog, the spitting man, and the winged lion, were undoubtedly copied from the border at Champs-sur-Marne. The panel



65/1. Panel condition, pre-restoration

bears an old label numbered "F27" and an even older seal marked "89 bis." An identification number, "248," typical of panels from Acézat's collection, is painted on the piece with the winged lion from the former border.

Photographic reference: Negatives 229425 (pre-restoration, with border, taken in 1982) and 251651 (post-restoration, taken in 1992).

NOTES

1. [Editors' note: This entry has been revised posthumously to reflect the author's later reattribution of these panels to Saint-Denis; it closely follows the author's argument as presented in Hayward 1992, pp. 303–25.]
2. Leconte 1841–43, pl. 61.
3. Jean Lafond in CV France I, p. 16 and pl. on p. 17.
4. Kraus 1966–67, p. 132 and fig. 2.
5. Lafond 1954, p. 209; see also *Victoria and Albert Museum* 1930, pp. 81–82.
6. The Acézat sale catalogue [Acézat Sale 1969], lot 39, claimed that the two panels were "d'un modèle analogue" to the piece in the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Paris, and to those in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The Cloisters panels were attributed to "Paris (?)" in CV US, *Checklist* I, p. 106.
7. Lafond in CV France I, pp. 335–36. The leading present in the central portion of Leconte's plate, moreover, does not follow the outline of the fleurs-de-lys quarries, nor does the panel appear, based on the border, to be the same size.
8. Aubert 1920, p. 146.
9. Le Vieil 1774, p. 29 n. "b."
10. Guilhermy 1855, p. 117.
11. The chapel at Notre-Dame dedicated to St. Eutrope was restored and enlarged in 1728 to encompass those on either side. Were it not for Guilhermy's unimpeachable eye in recognizing old glass, one might suspect this description to be of the enlarged space. Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879) began restoration of these chapels in 1854, and they were evidently seen in their primitive state by Guilhermy just before. This should lay to rest the question of Notre-Dame as the provenance for these grisailles.
12. In spite of the works of Jean Lafond (specifically Lafond in CV France IV 2/1, and Lafond 1954), and Meredith Lillich (specifically Lillich 1978), non-Cistercian grisaille glass of the fourteenth century remains relatively unstudied. Most examples, once detached from the original monument, are no longer identifiable (see CV US, *Checklists* I, II, and III).
13. See Brown 1984 [1988], p. 299 and n. 77.
14. The earlier Chapel of St. Louis was located behind the Chapel of St. Fermin on the south side of the choir in what is now the sacristy. The dedications of the nave chapels, in addition to Saint Louis, included saints Marie Majeure, Pantaléon, Denis, Martin, and Laurent, all of whom were especially popular saints. These dedications are given in Félibien 1706, plan, frontispiece, but see also Brown 1984 [1988], p. 324 n. 78, summarized in *Gesta* 17:1 (1978), p. 76.
15. See Doublet 1625, p. 287, and Félibien 1706, p. 227; both speak of the profusion of fleurs-de-lys decoration throughout the church.
16. Each of the nave chapel windows varies slightly in size. The first and the sixth have lights considerably narrower, and the tracery is different in chapel number one. The two chapels that flank that of St. Louis both have lights that are slightly wider than the king's by as much as 5.1 centimeters (2 inches). The fifth chapel has lancets that are approximately 5.1 centimeters (2 inches) narrower than those of the St. Louis chapel. These differences, while not great, are significant when measuring window panels.
17. These divisions almost exactly match the modern barring in the windows today.
18. The two edge fillets, one as a border strip and the other one as a "break" fillet, are traditional in stained-glass installation. The glass is cemented into the stone frame with putty that, when hardened, has to be chipped away with a chisel when the glass is removed. This process usually fractures the embedded outer fillet, hence the name.
19. See Hayward 1992, pp. 305, 308, and 311; Louis Grodecki in CV France, *Études* I, pp. 39–41; Réau 1959, vol. 1, pp. 195 and 306–307; Vitry and Brière 1908, p. 28; Tuetey 1912 and 1917, vol. 1, pp. 132 and 437 n. 1; and Brown 1988, pp. 7–33.
20. See Hayward 1992, pp. 308 and 309–12, and Grodecki in CV France, *Études* I, pp. 42–46.
21. For a more detailed discussion of Lisch's work at Saint-Denis, see Hayward 1992, pp. 314–15.
22. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, borders tended to diminish in width and elaboration and in some cases, especially in grisaille windows, to disappear altogether. See, for example, the windows in the Abbey Church of Saint-Père at Chartres, c.1275 (Lillich 1978, pp. 23–45); the Parish Church of St. Martin at Saint-Martin-aux-Bois, 1260s (Grodecki and Brisac 1984, p. 157); the Collegiate Church of Notre-Dame at Mantes, c.1315 (Westlake 1881–94, vol. 2, pp. 104–6). Even at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Évreux, c.1325 (Aubert et al. 1958, pp. 160–79), and at the former Abbey Church of Saint-Ouen at Rouen, c.1325 (Lafond in CV France IV-2/1, p. 29), borders were interrupted by the band of scenes.
23. See Hayward 1992, pp. 312 and 314, and Grodecki in CV France, *Études* I, pp. 47–56.
24. Acézat died in 1944, but his daughter, also a glass painter, kept the collection during her own lifetime in very much the same haphazard state in which her father left it. Parisian dealer Michel Meyer purchased the panels along with several other grisailles at the 1969 Acézat estate sale. They remained almost forgotten in his shop, disdained by would-be purchasers because of the modern borders, until 1982.
25. [New York 1999, pp. 137–38. At the time of its acquisition, the composite panel was in the collection of Hal Arbit of California, who had purchased it from Sibyll Kummer-Rothenhäusler.]
26. See No. 71, third piece in the second line of quarries from the bottom.
27. See New York 1982, pp. 227–28.
28. Grotesques as accents in grisaille windows are common in the fourteenth century. On this question and a possible explanation for their presence, see Lafond in CV France IV-2/1, pp. 41–42.
29. Lafond 1954, pp. 185–237, and Lafond in CV France IV-2/1, pp. 14–15.
30. Lafond in *ibid.*, pp. 28–29, identifies six different botanical species in the ornament of Saint-Ouen. See also Hayward 1986, pp. 16–17.
31. Lafond in CV France IV-2/1, p. 28, catalogued forty-three lancets with straight straps as opposed to only seven with bulged quarries.
32. Still the most comprehensive study of silver stain is Lafond 1943, pp. 56–57, where he states his belief that silver stain was invented in Paris c.1310 but that the earliest examples of its use that he knows are in Normandy, c.1315. [For more recent discussions, see New York 1995, p. 11 and Lautier 2000a, pp. 89–107.]
33. This arrangement follows that shown in the quarries of the panel in London and the Lisch tracing (64/fig. 5), except where the pattern has been altered.
34. Westlake 1881–94, vol. 2, pl. 89.

